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SENATOR JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

By

HENRY F. HOLTHUSEN

WITH A PREFACE
BY
HON. ELIHU ROOT

"A man is a good citizen who takes a constant interest in the affairs of his community, who votes at the primaries and at the elections, and votes in accordance with his convictions as to principles and candidates. Wherever we find corrupt or inefficient government, we find that a large number of people have failed to pay attention to political questions and have allowed control to fall into the hands of those who intend to use it improperly for their personal advantage. Successful self-government depends entirely upon good citizenship."

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

ILLUSTRATED

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This Biographical Sketch
of his distinguished son
is respectfully dedicated
to
HON. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, Sr.

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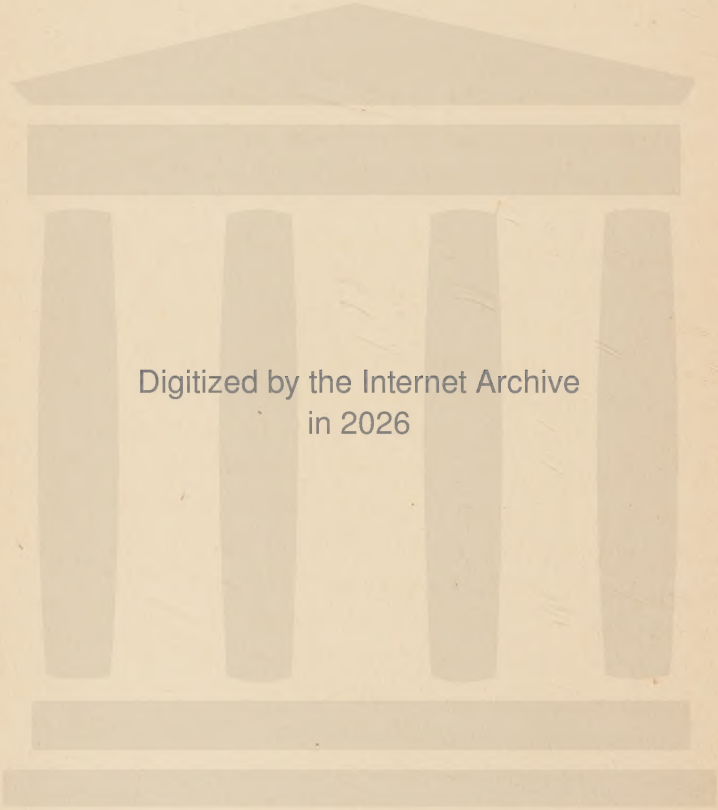
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PREFACE

The readers of this compact biography of Senator Wadsworth will find it much more interesting than the contribution which literature made to politics when Hawthorne wrote his campaign life of Franklin Pierce.

It is hard to find men of exceptionally good natural ability, developed by strong moral influences, liberal education, practical training in the contacts and hard work of life, and wide experience in public affairs. All these things go to make the most valuable public servant and at times the indispensable public servant under a popular government, and the making of such a man is well worth reading about.

We find a good deal of fault with our government, and especially with Congress. That is one of the most enjoyable privileges of freedom, but we are quite apt to go too far in our criticism through failing to realize that the government of a great country is an exceedingly complicated and difficult piece of business. It requires the constant attention and effort of men with the same exceptional degree of ability and devotion which has been engaged in building up the great organizations that have been

so amazingly successful in production and commerce and finance. In all such organizations the great thing has been to find men of preëminent competency and power. The concerns which get hold of such men make a wonderful success. The concerns that don't get them struggle to pay expenses. Half the defects in our government with which we find fault come from the fact that we ourselves fail to try to get such men into our public service.

In the business of government someone has to do a great deal of hard work; someone must have the industry and self-denial for long and patient study of complicated and difficult problems, and must have the brains to understand such problems. These men must have human sympathy to appreciate the difficulties and problems of all kinds and conditions of people affected by what government does or neglects to do, and they must have kindly and considerate judgment to guide their action; they must have decision of character and courage to make their decisions according to their honest convictions, without counting the effect upon themselves, and without being pushed this way and that by conflicting interests of others. They must think about their jobs more than they think about themselves; they must have the power of clear statement in order to communicate their ideas to others and exercise an influence upon the conduct of others in government. Very few men have all these qualities, and fewer still have proved that they have them.

Preface

The simple and authentic story contained in this little book shows that we have in Senator Wadsworth one of those exceptional men. Many things appear to have combined to fit him for important government service. He is endowed by nature with a clear strong mind, a kindly sympathetic disposition, a strong sense of humor, and decision of character. He was born into an intimate family tradition of loyalty and devotion to American principles and the American people. His mind has been disciplined by systematic, liberal education. His character has been disciplined by hard work with his body, privation and endurance. He has acquired skill and wisdom by experience in public affairs, and he began that process very early, when at twenty-eight years of age he was made Speaker of the New York Assembly and exercised the powers of that important office so effectively as to be continued in it for five successive years. He is honest, sincere, and has perfect courage. Without any weakness of rhetorical display, he has become a strong and convincing speaker. He is listened to attentively in the Senate, and his statements are trusted and his opinions are highly respected there.

One special element of value in Mr. Wadsworth's capacity for usefulness at this time should be noticed. We are entering upon a difficult and inevitable consideration and discussion of the relations between government and agriculture. It does not affect the farmers alone, but all of us, for we all have to eat,

and half of us have gone to live in cities which produce no food. The questions that are arising cannot be satisfactorily settled by men who vote one way because they are threatened by one group of voters, or another way because they are threatened by another group of voters. Satisfactory settlement of such questions requires intelligent and sympathetic understanding. Our legislative bodies are composed so largely of lawyers that they tend to be rather legalistic. Lawyers are probably better fitted for legislative work than any other single profession or calling, but the lawyers very much need the influence and correction of men who approach legislative subjects in a different way, from a different point of view. We cannot tell now just what questions will be presented, or how they will be presented, but we can be certain that they will come and will be most serious, and that it will be vastly important for dealing with such questions to have in the Senate of the United States a man of power and integrity, with the understanding which comes from living directly upon production from the soil, and the sympathy which comes from working with his own hands upon eastern farms and western ranches.

For service in this field as a Senator, Wadsworth is worth his weight in gold.

ELIHU ROOT.

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James W. Wadsworth, Jr.

James W. Wadsworth, Jr.

CHAPTER I

A VOLUNTEER soldier in the Spanish-American War, a member and speaker of the New York Assembly, a leader of the Republican Party and United States Senator since 1915, James Wolcott Wadsworth, Jr., has been the subject of more general interest than his unassuming modesty and conscientious application to the duties of official position have permitted him to satisfy.

"Best praise is his and ever gladly given
Who never sounds his own nor pleasures in it."

Those who meet Senator Wadsworth—and he is the most accessible of men—are struck by his abounding vitality, his range of sympathy, his unconsciousness of self, his originality of thought

combined with responsiveness to the ideas of others. Still under fifty, he looks and moves as a man in the full vigor of youth. Tall and square-shouldered, he owes his good carriage to an active life. The wholesomeness of the out-of-doors radiates from his personality. He shows the athlete, the ranger, the soldier, the farmer and the statesman in their combination. Here is a man in whom physical, mental and spiritual qualities appear equally balanced. His is the poise of the thinker, the intentness of the sincere man, the earnestness of the man of ideas. He is boyish in his frankness and his smile captivates. He loves a good story. There is a hearty ring to his laughter which solidifies friendship and understanding. He is a man of conviction, and consequently of courage, but as humble in seeking the truth as he is fearless in defending it. His open-mindedness reveals a true character of unselfishness.

Courage, leadership, initiative have made Senator Wadsworth a man of mark, but it is only by the record of his life that those who have not met him can visualize the qualities that make up the man.

Years ago, a boy of eight, he stood beside his father in the large room of a house in the midst of a Genesee Valley farm which the family had held since its purchase from the Indians in 1790. The

father, a successful farmer and man of affairs, put a book into the boy's hands and said:

"You are old enough now to read a book. I want you to read this"—it was *The Boys of '61*, by Charles Carlton Coffin—"and know something about the history of your country. I want you to know what this country was, who was in it and what happened and why. When you finish reading that, tell me about it and I shall give you another one."

At another time his father told him:

"If you do what I hope you will do, you will live here (Geneseo) when you grow up, be a part of this community and, if possible, if you are fitted for it, serve it in some way and take an interest in public affairs, the government of the village, the town and the county."

Thus was planted in the mind of the lad the tradition that his forefathers had followed for generations. Through their lives runs a homespun thread of simple, honorable living, of hard work and thrift and above all of devotion and usefulness to the community, the State, the nation. Senator

Wadsworth's aptitude for taking the van in every public need is part of his inheritance from the pioneer stock from which he springs. The record of his family is, so to say, a cross-section of American history and as such is of interest alike to those whose forefathers came over when the land was young and to those who themselves have paid in coming here the price of parting and of sacrifice for the land of their choice.

To the country at large, Senator Wadsworth is Wadsworth of New York. To New York State, he is Wadsworth of Geneseo. Martin Van Buren, when asked by the Queen of the Netherlands how old his family was, replied: "As old as Kinderhook"—his birthplace. Senator Wadsworth's family is as old as Geneseo—and older, going back to the pioneer settlement of Massachusetts. His great-great-great-grandfather, William Wadsworth, was one of the hardy men who made their way through then unsettled wilderness to found Hartford, Connecticut, in 1635.

In 1687, in the reign of James II, when the royal Governor, Sir Edmund Andros, undertook to seize the Connecticut charter, the candles were suddenly snuffed out and before they were relit, the charter was snatched away, almost from under the royal

Governor's hand, and Captain Joseph Wadsworth hid the document in the hollow of the Charter Oak, till in a freer time the precious parchment was brought out with honor as the constitution of the colony.

General James Wadsworth served as Major-General of the Connecticut line in the American Revolution and as a member of the Continental Congress.

At the same time, Jeremiah Wadsworth was commissary-general and at his house at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1780, Washington and Rochambeau worked out a joint plan of campaign. When the country turned to peaceful pursuits after the Revolution, Jeremiah Wadsworth advanced his young nephew, James Wadsworth, funds to purchase lands at a dollar an acre in then distant western New York. James induced his brother, William, to make it a joint venture.

In the spring of 1790, the enterprising young men with their axmen left their old home at Durham, Connecticut, to seek their fortune. Their way led them by boat up the Hudson to Albany, by portage to Schenectady, and up the Mohawk. Purchasing livestock at outlying settlements, they kept on, William with the cattle through the forest trails and James through the primeval water-ways, till they met again on the banks of the Genesee River.

There they built a log house, cleared their lands, planted their crops and grazed their cattle. There they remained when their hired men drifted away because of the prevalence of the ague. James and William divided their tasks at Geneseo according to their natural inclinations, William preferring the clearing of the forest and the tilling of the soil and James attending to the business necessities of the operation. They maintained uninterrupted relations of friendship with the Indians.

In 1797, President Washington appointed Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth Commissioner to represent the Government in connection with a proposal by Robert Morris to acquire the native right of the Seneca Nation of Indians in the lands west of the Genesee River and at a council called by Colonel Wadsworth in September of that year, the Senecas accepted the contract, commonly known as the Treaty of Big Tree.

In the War of 1812, William Wadsworth served as Major-General, commanding the militia of the Genesee district and took part in the expedition across the Niagara River, though most of the militia refused to serve outside the State.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the wagon roads through western New York were completed, and by 1820 the State was selling public lands to

settlers at a nominal price, thereby drawing great numbers of enterprising men from older communities in adjacent States. In 1825, the Erie Canal, constructed without Federal aid by the State of New York, was opened and the products of the great West began to flow through the canal, the Hudson River Valley and New York City. From Maine to Alabama, the Mohawk Valley is the only complete break through the Appalachian Mountain chain. Thus, even before railroads bound the land together, New York City had the resources of a continent at its back as well as an ocean at its feet.

The Wadsworths, having taken root in the soil, grew with the growth of the State. Major-General James Samuel Wadsworth—eldest son of James Wadsworth and grandfather of Senator Wadsworth —was born in 1807, read law in Daniel Webster's office, and after attending Yale Law School, was admitted to the bar in 1833. Making his home at Geneseo, he married Miss Mary Craig Wharton of Philadelphia, whom the historian Motley described as "the most beautiful woman in the country and as agreeable and accomplished as beautiful." On a honeymoon tour of Europe, James S. Wadsworth was attracted to the west coast of Ireland and sent a number of Irish lads to America. Some years later,

at the time of the Irish famine of 1847, he gave to the work of relief an entire shipload of grain. After the death of his father and his uncle, James S. Wadsworth, with his brother William, took over the management of the property. The profits were turned back into the land and when, in the fifties, the wheat midge ravaged the wheat fields of the Genesee Valley, they remitted to the tenants so much of the wheat rent as to take upon themselves a great proportion of the loss.

James S. Wadsworth was a Free-soiler and followed the lead of Martin Van Buren in seceding from the Democratic Party. In the presidential campaign of 1848—before the organization of the Republican party—Martin Van Buren became the candidate of a combination of anti-slavery forces, who planted themselves on the national platform of freedom in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery and inscribed upon their banner: "Free soil, free speech, free labor and free men." James S. Wadsworth was active in the "free democracy" which was a precursor of the Republican Party and at a later date he said:

"I know, for I have sometimes felt, the influence of the odium which the spurious aristocracy who have

so largely directed the destinies of this Nation for three-quarters of a century have attached to the word 'abolition.'"

In 1856, therefore, the anti-slavery Democrats endorsed the Republican candidate for President, John C. Frémont, and James S. Wadsworth was made chairman of a committee to further the objects of their convention. In 1860 he supported Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency.

In April, 1861, as soon as it was learned that railroad communication with Washington had been interrupted by reason of damage done by disloyalists, James S. Wadsworth, with the aid of other members of the "Union Defense Committee of the City of New York," got a ferryboat and sent her to Annapolis with supplies and materials and one hundred laborers for the maintenance of the railway between Annapolis and Washington. Commissioned and appointed to the staff of Brigadier-General Irvin McDowell, he exposed himself freely in an endeavor to stem the tide of battle at Bull Run, and was made a Brigadier-General, later Military Governor in charge of the defense of Washington.

In 1862, upon the news of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, James S. Wadsworth was nomi-

nated by the Republican Party for Governor of the State of New York. His sympathy with the Negro race was marked and outspoken. Anticipating his nomination, he wrote:

"But if I am to be nominated let me have a strong decided platform. . . . I have come to think that the Rebellion can only and ought only to end in the total overthrow of slavery. . . . We have paid for peace and freedom in the blood of our sons; let us have it."

Failing election, General Wadsworth returned to active service, took part in operations connected with the Battle of Chancellorsville and at Gettysburg directed much of the advance fighting. In 1864, he was given the command of the Fourth division of the Fifth Corps, Army of the Potomac, and in the difficult and confused fighting at the Battle of the Wilderness, his devoted disregard of personal danger was conspicuous and he was mortally wounded. Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island, at the Narrows, the entrance to New York Harbor, was named after Major-General Wadsworth.

When General Wadsworth was killed, two of his sons were in the army, and his youngest son, James W.

Wadsworth, the father of Senator Wadsworth, then a lad of sixteen, impelled by his own patriotic desires, sanctioned by the ante-mortem consent of his father, joined the Union Army. He took part in the closing battles of the Civil War and was made a Captain and later a Brevet-Major on the staff of General G. K. Warren.

The Senator's father, in later life, served two terms in the New York Assembly, as the representative of Livingston County, marking his independence in 1879 by being the sole Republican in the Legislature who refused to vote for the return of Roscoe Conklin to the United States Senate. In 1880, as State Comptroller he espoused the legislation, which for the first time assessed taxes on corporations within the State, and he put in force the system by which the tax was collected. It was his view that the State could derive a large share of its necessary income from taxes on corporations and should tax corporations as a matter of sound policy. In general, the State of New York has followed that policy ever since. He was a representative in Congress for over twenty years, concluding his service on March 4, 1907. For ten years, he was chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and he loved his work because he

knew farming. The Meat Inspection Act, incorporated in the Agricultural Appropriation Act of June 30, 1906, was drafted by his Committee, and remains on the statute books unchanged in any particular. For nineteen years the elder Wadsworth has been a member of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Volunteer Soldiers, an institution with nineteen branches in different parts of the country, and maintaining 26,000 beds. His devotion to community needs has endeared him to his neighbors. He is still an ardent sportsman.

Senator Wadsworth, whose family history we have thus briefly traced, comes rightly by the pioneer manfulness and the patriotic impulse which, first displayed in the ranks, have fitted him for leadership.

CHAPTER II

Born at Geneseo, August 12, 1877, Senator Wadsworth, as a boy, grew up among people imbued with a thorough and almost passionate love of outdoor life. He lived in the midst of picturesque scenes and the full associations of a farming country. The Genesee Valley is a region where the beauty of nature is set off by all the variety of the four seasons, each bringing its own distinctive attractions and activities. Early to bed, early to rise, is still a practice rather than a proverb. Horse sense still means the knowledge of horses and fox hunting is a sport rather than a fashion.

In these surroundings, young Wadsworth developed a vigorous but not unbalanced athleticism. When he was eight or nine years old, he was given a good-sized pony, for which he had to care. Riding was his favorite sport and when he went to the

public school at Geneseo, he rode to school and back home.

The Senator's mother, a daughter of the well-known wit, William R. Travers, was very much interested in the upbringing of her children and in helping them in their studies. A homelike and very capable woman, gracious, kind and sweet, her keen and delightful sense of humor, keeping her children amused, gave a healthy humorous touch to their developing minds.

When the boy was five years old, his father took the family to Washington, where they remained for some years, part of the time occupying the house of Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston, President Buchanan's niece and adopted daughter. The boy took in the sights of the town and with the keen interest of a child viewed the mechanism of government in which he was eventually to take so prominent a part.

Jim went to school first at Washington and later at Geneseo and when ten years old was sent to the Fay School at Southborough, Mass., where he stayed two years. There he made some lasting friendships. Fond of keeping out of doors, he and another boy built a hut in the woods and to build it cut down some trees from a private domain, for which the owner called upon their fathers to pay.

At the school, Jim was present in the choir, but how he sang is not of record. From the Fay School, which is for boys between the ages of nine and thirteen, Jim, with some of his former classmates, went to St. Mark's School, also at Southborough, where he remained for five years, until he was 17. He invariably passed his examinations throughout and once took second prize in a debate, his subject being "hypocrisy." It was at this point, in his academic training, that young Wadsworth turned seriously to his life study, history, the subject in which his father had first interested him as a child.

Young Wadsworth used to look through the newspapers that came to the school to see what was going on in the world of politics, as his father was in the thick of it. Jim was always a boy's boy, full of the odd pranks of youth. During his third school year at St. Mark's when Jim was sixteen, the school was visited by Bishop Phillips Brooks. In later years, the Senator, reflecting upon that visit, stated:

"One of the greatest and best religious influences I ever had was centered on that incident. He made a tremendous impression upon me—an extraordinary impression. He was a wonderful man. It was just one of those things that happen in your life in which

you can't remember what was said but remember its having been most helpful. I was confirmed at that time."

School vacations were not periods of idleness, for Jim's father utilized vacation time to teach him what he should know as a practical farmer. The boy had withal a bully time as farm life interested him exceedingly. By the time he was twelve years old, he had made up his mind to go into farming as his life's job. The Senator likes nothing better to-day than to get out of town into the country for a healthy outdoors sense of life. The hard work of the farm, tiring though it was to a growing boy, has given stamina to the man. The elder Wadsworth, who loves farming day in and day out, used to tell Jim when a boy of twelve: "Now you have to learn this business—you can't learn it from an office. You have to learn it outdoors and I am going to take you with me." Whereupon, his father would illustrate how the work should be done, saying:

"That is the way to hold a shovel. You see that fellow—well, he is doing that right. Now, look at the other fellow—he is doing it wrong. This is the way to place fence posts, three feet deep so as to reach below frost. That is the way to stretch

barbed wire and the staples should go this way, across the grain and not parallel with it."

All the little details that make up the how and why of farm life his father taught him.

The Senator's father is well known to be an extraordinary judge of cattle and has a maxim which he used to tell his son:

"Well bought is half sold. Buy a sound animal of good quality, even though it may be young and thin, and with fattening it will grow and develop as it should. But buy a steer of inferior quality, bad breed, bad points, the more you feed him the more money you will lose on him for he gets coarser and coarser and the buyer sees him first and always cuts him out."

His father drummed into Jim the points to be observed in cattle and from time to time took him to the stock yards. Every Sunday afternoon the father would drive through his cattle pastures and the son would note with him whether the cattle were developing or not. "Compare that one with this one," his father would say—"never buy that kind. I made a mistake."

During vacation periods, when the boy was a

little older, he would be sent to one of the farms fifteen or twenty miles distant and there would live with the men and do his bit along with them. The man in charge would receive express instructions that Jim was not to be petted but to be treated equally with the rest of the men. By the time Jim was sixteen, he was doing a man's work. His father would come around to see him about once a week to find out how he was getting along, indulging the son only to the extent of permitting him to come home Saturday to play ball.

At school, young Wadsworth played on the baseball team. He skated and played hockey and occasionally at night, the boys would slip out of the back door and go down to the millpond to take a swim. Jim had learned swimming from his father who set him afloat from a rowboat on Lake Conesus, as he also learned the fine points of baseball, for as far back as the seventies the Congressman had organized a baseball team. This team, called the Livingstons, traveled all over the East. Some of its members became noted as professional baseball players, but one of them, who established a great reputation as a pitcher and was one of the first pitchers in the United States to throw a curved ball, came to the elder Wadsworth, and asked his advice whether to

continue in baseball as a professional or to study law. The Congressman advised him to study law and the baseball world lost John B. Stanchfield, the famous lawyer.

The Senator's father has always felt that participation in sport is a fine thing for young men because of the character of sportsmanship it gives them, the clean living they practice, the contacts they have and the friendships they make. He thought that meeting so many people would give his son a broad viewpoint and particularly felt that baseball of all games has extraordinary influence for character training. The game has so much humor and a language of its own; there is more camaraderie on the diamond than in other field sports. The players travel more and play in other towns more frequently than is the case in games generally. Baseball trains the young man to keep his head and to do the right thing at the right time with a hostile crowd yelling. To get hot-headed at football does not necessarily break up one's game, but one must have a cool head for baseball and must think quickly. With a ball on its way from the bat or thrown by another player and with the runners scampering around the bases, one must not get rattled but while the ball is in flight must know what to do with it

the instant it hits the glove. The father gave the boy a love for the human contacts and healthy rivalry of sport, an appreciation, too, for the sense of physical fitness.

By the time he was seventeen, young Wadsworth was an amateur member of the Geneseo Nine and shone as a star fielder. Local newspaper columns of 1894 and 1895 abound in such items as this:

"When young J. Wadsworth, after making a two-base hit, crossed the plate with the run that made the score 8 to 7 against Rochester, the crowd went wild with excitement.

". . . J. Wadsworth could not have been improved upon. . . .

"James W. Wadsworth, Jr., played his usual faultless game at first."

Entering Yale with the class of 1898, Jim was a member of the Freshman baseball team, which defeated the Sophomores by a score of 11 to 0, notwithstanding a brass yacht cannon that the Sophomores placed directly behind Wadsworth at first base. *The Yale Alumni Weekly* said:

"The noise seemed only to improve Wadsworth's

ALL-AMERICA FIRST BASEMAN, 1898

game and as a climax, he took a nasty pick-up right out of the midst of a bunch of popping firecrackers."

Young Wadsworth always played first base, as his father had done, and it is a coincidence that both have broken the index finger at the same joint. His son Jerry is now playing first base on the Geneseos. As a member of the Yale Varsity baseball team, Jim was nominated by Walter Camp in 1898 for first base on an "All America Nine" and Camp said of him, "He practically won the last Harvard game."

In the summer seasons during his course at Yale, Jim played on the Geneseos, a baseball team which his father organized. At one time there were seven university baseball captains on this team which traveled a great deal as it played several games a week. In the summer of 1897, when at their best, the Geneseos played through the East and went as far west as Chicago and through Michigan and Canada, winning the championship of Canada. This was no doubt the greatest fun the Senator ever had.

During his Sophomore year, Jim fell ill of scarlet fever—the only serious illness in his life—and was sent home by his doctor. The family had not been

notified. Arriving at Geneseo, Jim found himself in a blinding snowstorm with six miles to go in an open buckboard without an overcoat. At the doorstep the assembled family met him with reserve and inquired if he had been expelled? During the weeks of convalescence, his mother read to him, at his request the whole of Nicolay and Hay's ten-volume *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, a work which the Senator has since read three times through. At a later date he met and married a daughter of Secretary of State John Hay, one of the co-authors of that famous work.

In the presidential campaign of 1896, Mr. William Jennings Bryan, the free silver candidate, fresh from his "Cross of Gold and Crown of Thorns" speech, came to New Haven and made an address upon a wooden platform on the Green. Drawn by curiosity to see, if not to hear, the orator with his then long flowing hair, the college students gathered about and before Mr. Bryan began to speak, some of them raised the "frog-chorus" cheer at which Bryan smiled benignly until he heard at the end the roaring word "McK I N L E Y." Probably, if Mr. McKinley had been present, the same youths would have thrown in a cheer for Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan, it was apparent, did not realize this, for he lost his temper

and in the silence following a second cheer gritted his teeth, clenched his fist and shook it at the students with the exclamation: "I have come on from the West to talk to you boys here of the East who are in college spending the ill-gotten gains of your parents." One boy shouted back at the top of his voice in falsetto, "My papa is honest." Laughter and disorder followed. A little while later, the platform, evidently too hurriedly put up and perhaps yielding to the impetus of the crushing interest of the Yale students massed on one side, gave way, but fortunately, as it was only four feet high, no one was hurt. Later, in the same campaign, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts spoke in the Hyperion Theatre at New Haven. Holding up against his coat a silver dollar on one side and, on the other, a greatly enlarged replica of it, he said: "This is the real one and this is the fraud." Mr. Lodge, subjected to a little collegiate horseplay, laughed off these interruptions and won rapt attention. He made a deep impression on young Wadsworth, who was listening to the first great political speech he had ever heard in a presidential campaign. Little did he anticipate that the speaker and himself would later stand together in the Senate of the United States.

Some fifteen Yale students, bent on a hoax, organ-

ized an eating club under the name of "The Corbett Club." At the time, the well known pugilists Corbett and Fitzsimmons were training to fight at Carson City on St. Patrick's Day and were engaged in an exchange of extravagant brags. The Club, accordingly, wrote James J. Corbett a letter in terms ingratiatingly extravagant, urging him to go in and win, and sent him a Yale flag. Corbett published the letter from his training quarters and acknowledged the receipt of the Yale flag. The *Yale News* denounced the senders of the letter; the College authorities held a meeting to decide what to do about it and some of the students—those who joked with difficulty—called for a mass meeting. So did the *News*. The Dean looked into it and saw light. Corbett hung the Yale flag in his corner the day of the fight. The Corbett Club bet on Fitzsimmons and with the landing of the famous "solar plexus" blow cleaned up. The day after Corbett's defeat, the club members hung crepe on the door of their eating place and everybody was asking who had died. The Corbett Club topped that hoax with another. A pugilistic contest was announced between two students—small, slender, pale young men. The challenge for the championship of Yale—ten round bout—six ounce gloves—catch weights at

the ringside—forfeit posted, and the acceptance, with check enclosed, appeared in the newspapers which described all the details, the meeting of the managers and their principals, the agreement as to the terms and date of the bout, etc. The impending bout became the gossip of the city. For some ten days the newspapers recounted the developments—the announcement of the establishment of training quarters (where no training was done) and the pugilistic banter between the contestants. The night of the fight a long hall on top of one of the college buildings was made ready. The hall could hold about 400 persons, but 4,000 or 5,000 tried to get in. No admission was charged. The police had to be called to hold back the mob outside. The referee made a speech to the crowd. The bout was wonderfully staged, with sponges and towels and water pails and seconds. The nervous contestants were introduced and the referee announced that applause would be confined to clapping of the hands. In the second round, one of the principals in the hoax announced that he was not going to fight any more! The faculty did not protest against staging the fight nor even against disappointing the crowd. Jim was a charter member of the Corbett Club. So, too, was Gouverneur Morris.

In 1898, young Wadsworth graduated from Yale after taking every course in history that the curriculum offered. At the same time his father received an honorary degree, M.A., which the president of the University conferred with a speech that could not be heard for the cheering. After the ceremony, a member of the baseball team came over to Wadsworth, Sr., and said: "Boss, that degree really was a base on balls, wasn't it?"

The Spanish-American War was then in progress and Jim had made up his mind to enlist. He went home, broke the news to his mother, and found his father had gone on to Washington. Young Wadsworth enlisted in Light Battery A, Pennsylvania Volunteers, then at Newport News, about to sail for Porto Rico. Passing through Washington, on the way to Newport News, he stopped in at Chamberlain's Hotel for breakfast and ran into his father. Jim did not astonish his father by the news of his enlistment, but his father astonished him by the announcement: "I have already been to Santiago with General Shafter's Army." President McKinley had sent the Congressman there to observe and report, and, though too late for the battle, he was present at the negotiations between General Joseph Wheeler and the Spanish commander for the sur-

render of the city. The Senator's first cousin, Craig Wadsworth, was in Roosevelt's Rough Riders and another cousin, Major William Austin Wadsworth, went into the Philippine campaign and served under General Merritt. The battery of light artillery in which the Senator enlisted went on to Porto Rico but, on entering the harbor, the ship ran on a shoal. The Captain knew that Wadsworth was experienced in the handling of horses and so detailed him to stay on board with eighteen men to take care of the horses and mules while their companions went ashore. The mules were more engrossing than entertaining, but Wadsworth took it calmly, as the farmer did who bought a pig, bought a pen for it and paid for its food, all at a cost of $13.00, for which sum he eventually sold it. Somebody asked him what he gained by selling it for no more than he had laid out on the pig. "Well," said the farmer, "I have had his company all summer."

Looking out from a porthole one day, Jim saw a little cutter, manned by American seamen, and the first man to come into view was his father, who was standing beside a naval officer. "You have beaten me to it again," said young Wadsworth, who had not yet gotten ashore. With a twinkle in his eye, his father immediately wanted to know how Jim was

taking care of the animals and thereupon proceeded to look over the horses and mules.

Battery A camped for a week beside a church at the port of Ponce, the men sleeping on the pavement. Thereafter they drilled incessantly. The Spanish Governor capitulated and Battery A never had the opportunity of going into action. Wadsworth, having gone in as a private, came out as one. He, like many others in that campaign, was taken ill, but in six weeks his remarkable stamina put him on his feet again. Honorably discharged at Philadelphia, where Light Battery A was a unit in the military parade reviewed by President McKinley, Jim went home. The Spanish War was over and the Philippine insurrection had not yet broken out.

In the winter of 1898–1899, Wadsworth received permission to accompany the transport *Sherman*, bound to the Philippines via the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, to return via Japan and San Francisco. Among his companions was Adelbert Hay, son of the Secretary of State. The transport carried the 3rd U. S. Infantry and the 2nd Battalion of the 17th U. S. Infantry. He had never before served with units of the regular army.

The *Sherman* left the port of New York on February 3, 1899, and was forty-eight days reaching Man-

ila. Among the troops on the *Sherman* were many men who had never before seen salt water, and who had trouble in finding their way about a vessel. One man complained to his sergeant that he had no place to loaf, as he had been ordered down from the roof (meaning the upper deck) to the cellar (the berth deck) and had been fired out of that place. The sergeant told him to go out into the back yard, a place for which he searched industriously for a time.

On the *U. S. S. Sherman,* Wadsworth acted as commissary sales clerk, selling jams, pickles, cigarettes and other articles to the men through the company sergeants. Getting into such intimate contact with the needs and ideas of the enlisted men, he came to realize the duties and responsibilities of the officers toward their men. It was an experience that enabled him to grasp the psychology of the soldier and was to stand him in good stead when he became a member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs during the World War and later, as its Chairman, had a dominant part in the preparation of the National Defense Act of June 4, 1920.

Stopping at Gibraltar, the *Sherman* received word that the Philippine insurrection under Aguinaldo had broken out. Fevered activity at once commenced on board the ship. The men trained con-

stantly. Arriving at Manila Bay, the troops were transferred by lighters to the shore. Wadsworth went into the field as personal Aide to the Colonel of the 3rd Infantry, which had two or three skirmishes and some losses during the three weeks he was with it. It was an experience that Wadsworth has never forgotten. The way the officers handled the troops was an eye-opener and carried home to him a sense of the necessity of having trained officers to train and lead enlisted men. He had been a typical volunteer in the Spanish War, and the volunteers had meant well, and their officers had meant well, but thrown into action against a trained enemy, they would have been annihilated. He had seen the casual, happy-go-lucky recruits with their tremendous sick list and now he saw the officers of the regular army taking care of their men, training them, disciplining them, getting response to discipline, seeing that the men's food was right, seeing that they took care of themselves. Right there he learned the lesson of preparedness which he has done so much to teach the country as a whole. He had an ocular demonstration of the contrast between preparedness and the lack of it and, when he came home, it was with the realization that one cannot make a soldier, much less an army, in a week.

The authorization of the Secretary of War permitting Wadsworth and his companions to accompany the *Sherman* stipulated that they should do so throughout her trip and therefore, when the transport departed from Manila, bound for San Francisco, via Japan, he was compelled to cut short his participation in the Philippine campaign. The peaceful scenes of Nagasaki and its surroundings with the winding roads, the country inns, the temples and the patient peasants with their pack-horses and pack-bulls were by contrast far removed from the life of an American soldier in the tropical Philippines.

CHAPTER III

HOME for good, the young man of 22 took hold of a farm his father gave him and, during the summer and autumn of 1899, working alongside a hired hand, he raised his crops and cared for his cattle and sheep.

When the crops were in and everything went into winter quarters, Jim's father suggested that he spend the winter as clerk in a local bank at Geneseo.

"It will be valuable to you as a business training," his father said. "A country bank, especially, is an institution where you come into contact with almost everybody in the community in a business way and in many human associations. I want you to know how business is run and a clerkship there will teach you more than anything you can do in a like period of time."

Jim followed this sage advice and by it learned a bank's methods of doing business, the dependence of Main Street's merchants on the bank, the relation of the community to the bank and its service to the community, and he gained some insight into the effect of bad banking practice or any impairment of a bank's solvency.

As soon as the frost was out of the ground, Wadsworth went back to the farm. Early in the season he went to the stock yards at Buffalo and purchased cattle for fattening on the Geneseo flats.

In the same year—1900—Jim made his first speech. It was at a farmer's annual picnic, in a grove of good old trees—Brooks Grove in the town of Mt. Morris, Livingston County. Receiving an invitation to speak, he took for his topic good roads. Their effect upon the farm and the community in the transportation of farm products to the railroad station, he viewed from a town and county standpoint. It should be remembered that the State had not then adopted the policy of issuing bonds to build State roads. Those were the days of the past with the spring mud, hub deep.

Jim worked hard from sun up, day in and day out on the farm, ploughing, putting up and repairing fences, improving the water supply, harvesting

crops, and attending to the multitude of details which make up the life of the successful farmer. When the opportunity offered, he would get on a horse and take long rides. The local hunt club turned out two or three times a week in the fall. Many farmers attended and he made one of the party, though not as frequently, owing to his farm work, as he should have liked. There were the usual cider parties and picnics—meetings of the grange.

At this time Jim took no leading part in politics but would report to the County Committeemen in charge of the election district and make himself useful in bringing voters to the polls. In the fall of 1900, he organized a mounted campaign troop. Drilling them, he acted as Captain, and had two Lieutenants and a proper number of Sergeants and Corporals. The troop gave exhibition drills in the evening, and opened all the Republican meetings in the district to arouse enthusiasm for the Republican ticket. Marching clubs have been known in politics but this was, perhaps, the first mounted club, and, perhaps the last. Nearly all farm boys, the members had their own horses and loved riding. They rode nearly three hundred miles that autumn. Theodore Roosevelt was running for vice-president, and when he came to Geneseo to make a speech from the court-

house steps, he was escorted by the troop and was delightfully astonished and keenly interested to see a whole troop of cavalry lined up at attention at the railway station to greet him.

In these early years Wadsworth pursued the uninterrupted course of farming life. He was slowly making progress but not without constant effort and painstaking watchfulness. During 1902 an incident occurred which threatened to render useless his three hard years of toil. The spring rains of that year had continued into the early summer so that the streams had become angry, swollen rivers. On July 4, 1902, the Genesee River, flowing through the flats, suddenly broke its banks and sending its rushing waters over the land, forced Jim's 160 steers to seek refuge on a knoll. Rising steadily, the waters crept up the knoll until the cattle were standing knee deep in a sea of water. Wadsworth was faced with certain loss of his cattle if he did not get them out at once. Jumping into a boat with two other men, Jim rowed to the cattle. Wading, without shoes, through the waters and seemingly stepping on every thistle on the place, he drove the cattle ahead of him, using the rowboat to give them a lead, and swimming with the now half-crazed steers across a deep gully he managed, after two hours of hectic effort, to reach

high ground and save every one of them. This episode illustrates the inbred love of a farmer for his livestock.

It was on September 30, 1902, that Mr. Wadsworth married Miss Alice Hay, a tall and graceful girl, with beautiful brown eyes and dark hair, noted for her charm and intellectuality. Daughter of the Secretary of State, Miss Hay was brought up in a family in which public affairs were constantly under discussion, and in consequence she took a deep interest in them. Their romance had begun in the spring of 1899 when Mr. Wadsworth met her in Washington through her brother, Adelbert Hay, who had been his classmate. Mr. Wadsworth and Miss Hay became engaged in 1901, but owing to her brother's death in that year, they postponed their marriage until the autumn of the following year. The wedding, which was very simple, took place in Mr. Hay's country place at Lake Sunapee, New Hampshire. Immediately after the ceremony, Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth went to his home at Geneseo and, though farm life was novel to her, she took to it at once.

The following winter Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth took their deferred wedding trip to Cuba, Jamaica and the other islands of the West Indies. They

MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

returned to Geneseo in the early spring and he resumed his farming. Their eldest child, Evelyn, was born at Geneseo on July 7, 1903. During the winter of 1903–1904 they resided in Washington, D. C., Mr. Wadsworth going home regularly every three weeks to look after the farm.

Their second child, James Jeremiah Wadsworth, known as "Jerry," was born at Geneseo on June 12, 1905, after the close of Mr. Wadsworth's first session as a member of the New York Assembly. "Jerry" is the first Wadsworth to be named after Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth of revolutionary fame. A third child, Reverdy Wadsworth, was born in 1914 and received his first name in memory of his great-great-grandfather. The Senator's maternal grandmother was a Miss Johnson of Baltimore, whose father was Reverdy Johnson, one time United States Senator, then Attorney General of the United States under President Zachary Taylor and finally Minister to England in succession to Charles Francis Adams. While in Washington in the winter of 1903–1904, Mr. Wadsworth obtained many interesting sidelights upon the workings of the Department of State through his father-in-law, Secretary Hay. Henry Adams was a frequent caller. He was a close friend of the Secretary though he did not have

the strong republicanism of John Hay who had been Lincoln's private secretary. Mr. Adams and Mr. Hay used to have the most delightful mock quarrels on public questions. Tea hour with its daily discourse of world events was one of delightful fulness for the future Senator. The Secretary of State did many things that no one knew anything about and for which others received the credit. Quietly, with patient skill and with extraordinary vision, he shaped the policies of our country in its foreign relations. To him the accomplishment sufficed. He was a great Secretary of State and by many deemed our greatest.

Washington had as well its intimate social side. On one occasion when Secretary Hay invited President and Mrs. Roosevelt, the cabinet and Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth to dinner, President Roosevelt, full of energy and emphasis, entertained the company with anecdotes about the cowboys and the Rough Riders and Mr. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury, countered with stories that were character sketches. Roosevelt's stories were buoyant and full of rollicking fun. Shaw's were more subtle; he had a dry wit and was an artist in story telling. The members of the cabinet sat there looking first to Roosevelt and then to Shaw. At last when Roose-

velt remarked what splendid fellows his Rough Riders were, Elihu Root interjected:

"Well, Mr. President, there is a rumor going around—I don't know whether it is true or not—that every Rough Rider who isn't dead holds a Federal office. Is that right?"

In the early spring of 1904, Mr. Wadsworth received a letter from his father informing him that Mr. W. Y. Robinson, Assemblyman from Livingston County, did not intend to be a candidate for reelection and strongly urging his son to announce his candidacy. Jim pondered long over the idea. "Public service"—the seed sown in the boy, was finding its spring in the man. The winter in Washington had nurtured it—but modesty caused him to hesitate. Finally, however, after talking the matter over with his wife and Secretary Hay, he decided to take his chances. Accordingly, he announced his candidacy by letter written to each member of the County Committee.

Candidate Wadsworth began an active canvass and in the County Convention, on the first ballot, received forty-eight out of fifty-one votes. He was nominated for Assemblyman in mid-summer of 1904

and of his speech of acceptance the local newspaper said: "No one but a man of strong common sense could say so much in so few words." Jim Wadsworth had a wide acquaintanceship through his baseball activities which had made him known by sight in every town in the county. His father had told him that baseball would bring him many friends. This proved to be true. In this and in subsequent campaigns, he frequently met men who knew him through his baseball associations. A man would step up and say: "I remember when you played ball at such and such a time and place," or, perhaps, "I played against you."

Jim Wadsworth was elected Assemblyman, receiving 5,653 out of 9,439 votes cast and in January, 1905, when Higgins was inaugurated as Governor and a new legislature convened, took his seat in the Assembly. He was assigned to membership on the Committee on Taxation and the Committee on Villages and performed his work in committee conscientiously and promptly. As a result of his committee studies, Wadsworth proposed a law giving to the State Comptroller power to audit and investigate the financial accounts of cities, towns, villages and county treasurers, with power as well to require the adoption of uniform methods of accounting. This

legislation was advocated as a check upon irregularities, as a deterrent to defalcation, and as a means of comparing the relative cost of the same service in different localities. It was enacted despite strong opposition.

S. Fred Nixon, then in his seventh year as Speaker, was the great power in the Assembly at that time and its organization was in his hands. Nixon, a very forceful man, had a group of supporters who held all the chairmanships of importance. He had run the Assembly machine for a long time, but although apparently everything ran very smoothly on the surface, there was an undercurrent of complaint against such domination and partiality. A new Assemblyman soon found that the Speaker's word was most potent. Nixon was allied with Governor Odell, who in his second term had made himself Chairman of the Republican State Committee, thus grasping the political leadership of the party and overshadowing Senator Platt, long the so-called "easy boss" of the State. Odell's self-elevation gave offense to many and especially to some of the old County leaders who had trained with Platt. After Higgins had become Governor, the clash came upon Speaker Nixon's death in the summer of 1905. The group that supported Governor Higgins was

largely composed of Platt's old friends. Ultimately, President Roosevelt's influence was likewise thrown against Odell.

Assemblyman Wadsworth was reelected for a second term in the fall of 1905. The Assembly was Republican and several candidates for the Speakership were put forward. One was Assemblyman James T. Rogers of Binghamton who had been majority leader on the floor for five years and was in point of rank next after Speaker Nixon. Edwin A. Merritt of Potsdam was also a candidate—a very strong one, with five years of service in the Assembly. J. Mayhew Wainwright of Westchester, with four years' experience in the Assembly, was also under consideration. Robert Lynn Cox of Buffalo, a very able man, was "in the hands of his friends." Wadsworth was a supporter of S. Percy Hooker, whose home county, Genesee, adjoined Wadsworth's, both counties being in the same State Senatorial District and within the Congressional District represented by the elder Wadsworth. A considerable number of Republican Assemblymen from that part of western New York endorsed Hooker.

In December, 1905, prior to the election which was to take place in January, 1906, Mr. and Mrs. Wadsworth went to Washington for the holidays before

going to Albany where they had rented a house upon his first election to the Assembly. While staying with Secretary and Mrs. Hay in Washington, Wadsworth received a telegram from Governor Higgins requesting him to come to the Executive Mansion at Albany on a date named. The purpose was not stated and Wadsworth, who had never known Governor Higgins intimately, felt that it was somewhat mysterious. Before he went, Mrs. Wadsworth suggested that he pay his respects to President Roosevelt. He did so and told the President: "I am here for a fortnight before the legislative session begins at Albany but I am going to Albany at once because Governor Higgins has sent for me." "There is quite a scrap on, I see," said the President, "about the Speakership." "Yes, there are half a dozen candidates," said Wadsworth and added that he was for Hooker. "I think Hooker is a good man," said President Roosevelt and mentioned two or three others including Wainwright. "Well," continued the President, "I don't know what Higgins has in his mind, if indeed he has any intention to interfere in the Speakership fight, but you can tell him that I hope he does take a hand in it and that I will stand by him in anything he does." "Very well—and goodbye," concluded Mr. Wads-

worth. Reaching Albany the next evening, he went to the Executive Mansion about 7:30 P.M. and on entering the drawing room was astonished to meet his father. From the fact that the Governor had sent for them both, they fancied that he was going to discuss the Speakership and declare himself for Hooker and they both beamed. Assemblyman Wadsworth gave Governor Higgins the message he had received from the President. George W. Aldridge, leader of Monroe County (Rochester), Francis Hendricks, leader of Onondaga County (Syracuse), Cuthbert W. Pound, Governor Higgins' legal adviser and now a Judge of the Court of Appeals, Frederick Kilburn, then Superintendent of Banks, and N. V. V. Franchot of Olean, Superintendent of Public Works, also came in to dine with the Governor. Governor Higgins was a painfully modest man, outwardly seeming to lack vigor and aggressiveness, but in fact a man of great courage, persistency and conviction. When dinner was over, the Governor told the company that he had asked their attendance to discuss the Speakership fight. He then gave his views upon the qualifications and availability of the candidates in the field, speaking kindly of the record each had made but stating in each case a reason why the candidate was not in his judgment the best

man. He considered Hooker last and the Wadsworths were more than ever confirmed in the belief that the Governor was about to declare himself for Hooker. He spoke very kindly of Hooker but wound up, as in the case of the others, with the observation that he was not the man. This left Wadsworth puzzled and disappointed. After a painful pause in the conversation, Governor Higgins suddenly turned to Jim Wadsworth and said: "Assemblyman Wadsworth, we believe that you should be the Republican candidate for Speaker." The elder Wadsworth rose from his seat as if catapulted and, holding the side arms of his chair, exclaimed: "Governor, you can't mean that!" Governor Higgins very quietly replied: "I do!—and so do these other gentlemen. We have talked it over." "I can't understand it, Governor," gasped the Assemblyman, "and I don't know what to say, except I can't do it because I am pledged to Percy Hooker and cannot permit my name to be used against him." "I think that can be arranged," said Governor Higgins. "I have telephoned Mr. Hooker to be here tomorrow morning, and to call upon me, on which occasion I shall ask him to release you and I shall tell him that it is my hope and that of my friends that you are to be the Republican caucus nominee for Speaker."

Hooker arrived the next morning to confer with the Governor and, though taken by surprise, was very generous about the matter, not only releasing Wadsworth but declaring that he would himself support him on the ground that there was more at stake than personal advancement. The Assembly, he said, ought rightly to be reorganized. The press which had been describing Governor Higgins as a spineless man, lacking in initiative and energy, was staggered by his announcement that he was backing Wadsworth for Speaker. President Roosevelt soon let it be understood that he too approved the candidacy of Wadsworth. William Barnes of Albany and Herbert Parsons, Chairman of the New York County Committee, announced their support. Months later Wadsworth learned that George W. Aldridge was the first to suggest him for the Speakership. The fundamental reason why Governor Higgins and the leaders conferring with him wanted Assemblyman Wadsworth as Speaker was, as they told him, that they wanted a new deal in the Assembly.

Odell accepted the challenge of Governor Higgins and announced his support of Merritt. The fight was on between Merritt as the candidate of ex-Governor Odell and Wadsworth as the candidate of

Governor Higgins and the Federal administration. It was a factional fight for control of the party. The effort of both sides was to secure the support of the Republican Assemblymen elect. Wadsworth went to New York City and opened up headquarters in the old Manhattan Hotel. The contest was free from mudslinging, Wadsworth and Merritt being great friends. Merritt had not been on the inside of the Nixon organization in the Assembly and he himself did not like its general tone. Rival statements issued from day to day and when Merritt referred to Wadsworth as "Little Lord Fauntleroy," the Geneseo farmer and former Yale athlete had a good laugh. In the party caucus Wadsworth received a majority of the votes. Merritt moved to make it unanimous.

The next morning the Assembly elected Mr. Wadsworth its Speaker and he took up the gavel. His speech on assuming the office was conciliatory and called for the cooperation of his associates, particularly the older leaders. These, with Merritt at their head, came into the Speaker's room after the first day's session was over and pledged their personal support. Then, as was the custom, the Assembly took a recess of three or four days to permit the Speaker to appoint the standing committees.

CHAPTER IV

THE newly elected Speaker—then 28—at once sat down to the task of making up the lists of the standing committees of the Assembly. Governor Higgins had said he would make no suggestions regarding the personnel of the committees.

"This is your job," he told Wadsworth, "you go ahead with it. My only request is that, when you have finished it, you bring me the list, just to let me see if you have made any bad mistakes, and if I think you have made a mistake and you don't think you have, I am never going to say another word about it."

There were over four hundred committee assignments with about one hundred and fifty Assemblymen to fill them, so that each member had about three committees. It was necessary for Wadsworth to interview practically every member, whether

Republican or Democratic. Taking the committee list of the preceding session, the Speaker revamped it and reorganized the Assembly from top to bottom. Some aspects of his task were not pleasant. A new majority floor leader had to be chosen in place of one who had been majority leader for five years. Mr. Sherman Moreland, then Assemblyman from Chemung County, was selected. New chairmen were chosen for the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Railroads, the Committee on Electricity, Gas and Water Supply and other leading committees. Merritt, however, was reappointed to his old chairmanship without any request on his part and as a genuine expression of the Speaker's confidence in him. Merritt thanking Wadsworth remarked: "That is better treatment than I thought I could get." He was accustomed to the old politics where the winner took all and the loser received nothing. Upon completion, the Speaker showed the committee list to Governor Higgins who went over it with great care, returning it with the comment: "I have no suggestions whatever to make."

All factional conflicts stopped when the reorganization of the Assembly was accomplished. The members were cheerful and many of the old timers assured Wadsworth: "We knew that something had

to be done. Some of us were a part of the old machine, it is true, but we never liked it very much. We prefer a new deal and we are with you." The Republican organization of the Assembly never broke ranks throughout the entire session and put through its complete legislative program.

The great achievement of the session was the passage of the insurance reform legislation drafted by Charles Evans Hughes as counsel for the Insurance Investigating Committee headed by Senator William W. Armstrong. The bill itself was complicated, voluminous and important, but Mr. Hughes was remarkable for the lucidity of his explanations even when a committee session continued until three or four o'clock in the morning.

Governor Higgins one day reminded Speaker Wadsworth that the Governor had power to blue-pencil individual items in the appropriation bills and announced most emphatically that he would not approve the customary items appropriating a lump sum to pay a group of employees of the Assembly carried on the so-called "extra list." The machine previously in control of the Assembly had for years appointed a large number of employees without any statutory authority—some of them not even of record—and had included in the appropriation bill for

the contingent expenses of the Assembly a considerable sum of money to pay them. Most of the men on the extra list reported in Albany only on payday—twice a month during the four months of the session. "I can't stand for that appropriation," said the Governor. "If it comes to me I will blue-pencil it. That extra list business must stop." It became the Speaker's duty, therefore, shortly after he reorganized the standing committees, to break the news that appointments on the extra lists were no longer to be had. Some members were gravely embarrassed, having many friends from their home county on the extra list at $1,000 to $2,000 a year.

Speaker Wadsworth took the initiative in putting an end to another abuse, the distribution of Pullman passes to members of the Assembly by the sergeant-at-arms from his desk in the Assembly Chamber. In order to evade the force of a provision of the State Constitution prohibiting a public officer from accepting a free pass, it was customary to make out the pass to the Assemblyman's wife "and one." The Assemblyman would travel as "and one." Wadsworth put his foot down and forbade the distribution of the passes in the Assembly Chamber. Like most objectionable practices that grow up without a sense of individual responsibility, till boldly chal-

lenged, this was one of which the Assemblymen themselves were glad to be rid.

All bills when reported from committee were subject to thorough scrutiny and discussion and the juggling of bills was at an end. Good roads legislation was enacted and the first fifty million dollar bond issue for that purpose authorized.

In the autumn of 1906, Speaker Wadsworth was again reelected to the Assembly. Governor Higgins was not a candidate for reelection for he was ill and in fact lived only two or three months after the expiration of his term. The Republican State Convention at Saratoga nominated Charles Evans Hughes for Governor. The Democrats nominated William Randolph Hearst. Mr. Hughes ran ahead of his ticket and Mr. Hearst ran behind the rest of the Democratic candidates, with the result that the Republicans elected the Governor and the Democrats carried all the other State offices. The State Treasurer was a gentleman whose name was presented by prominent leaders of his county in response to a request from the Democratic State leaders for a candidate with banking experience. It turned out that the aspirant was a baker, the request having been misunderstood and "translated." It was the children's game of whispering something

around the circle till it comes back in some strange transformation.

One of the outstanding achievements of the 1907 session was the enactment of the Public Service Commissions Law which provided a well-rounded and comprehensive scheme of regulation and served as a model for other States.

Wadsworth as Speaker and Hughes as Governor cooperated in all but two or three prominent matters and notwithstanding their differences on these issues got along together with entire good will. They were intimately associated as members of the Trustees of Public Buildings, a board consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and the Speaker of the Assembly. In fact, they had frequent consultations though they were the respective protagonists in the conflict over direct primaries.

Historically, it is interesting to review the conflict on direct primaries as showing Wadsworth's practicality of understanding and independence of view. Governor Hughes, taking office in January, 1907, began almost immediately to urge the abolishment of the delegate convention system of nominating candidates for State offices and the passage of a direct nominations law. The issue was not whether the existing situation called for remedy but whether

the nomination of candidates by direct popular vote was the remedy.

At the time, primaries or caucuses as they were called, lacked proper regulation. There was not even a uniform primary day. The County Committee of each party called the caucuses at their pleasure for the election of delegates and, in some counties, so early in the year that they were colloquially known as "snow-storm caucuses." Instead of an official ballot with a stub, tellers were appointed in the caucus or unofficial ballots printed. Consequently the door was open for manipulation and juggling in the selection of delegates to nominating conventions.

A widespread demand for reform had inspired the adoption of direct nominating primaries and the abolition of conventions in Wisconsin and two or three other States. Wadsworth thought that this was burning the barn to clean it. In a constituency as large as an entire State, particularly the State of New York, a State-wide primary for the direct nomination of a candidate for Governor finds individual voters without much personal knowledge of the candidates and precludes conference, debate and exchange of views. In a direct nominating primary the man must seek the office and the office cannot

seek the man as it did under the convention system in the case of Mr. Hughes himself in 1906, when the Republican State Convention drafted him into service without any solicitation on his part. Direct nominating primaries render more difficult the concurrence of both leading parties in the selection of judicial candidates and the removal of the judiciary from partisan divisions. They deprive the members of the party of the opportunity of fixing accountability upon responsible leadership. At the same time, they have been ineffective in diminishing machine control of the organization of either party. On the contrary they tend to strengthen such control. What is everybody's business is nobody's business and the expense of going through a primary election and then through a general election is such as to place a handicap upon candidates who are not wealthy. Recent experience forcibly illustrates these practical difficulties. Finally, State-wide direct nominating primaries attempt to substitute for representative government a pure democracy, unworkable except in small communities where everyone knows everyone else and all can meet together.

A convention composed of delegates elected in a well regulated primary is a representative body

capable of conference and capable of going outside the list of the active candidates. Moreover, it exercises a twofold function, first, to draft a platform setting forth the principles of the party and second, to select a candidate to stand upon that platform.

Wadsworth ably emphasized these points in his speech at Albany, February 5, 1909, before the New York State Retail Lumber Dealers' Association when he said:

"If the party voters generally attend the primaries and caucuses, and exercise the powers which are theirs under the present system, it is safe to assume that the nominee of the convention will represent, in a great majority of instances, the sentiments of a great majority of his party. In a direct primary election, however, no such percentage is necessary to success. A majority of the votes cast at a direct primary election is not necessary to secure a nomination; a mere plurality may be sufficient. Let us use a simple illustration: We will assume that there are 100 party voters entitled to vote at a direct primary in a given district, and that there are three candidates for a given nomination. Candidate A may poll 40 votes; candidate B may poll 30 votes, and candidate C may poll 30 votes. Candidate A hav-

ing polled more votes than any other one candidate secures the nomination in spite of the fact that 60 of the 100 persons taking part in the primary election preferred someone else. I am sure that no one will contend that candidate A, in such an outcome, represents the choice of his party. This situation obtains in very many cases under the direct primary system where there are three or more candidates in the field for one nomination, and it furnishes a glorious opportunity for the injection of fake candidacies in a primary election, and the skillful confusing of men and issues and the manipulation of results by designing politicians who, realizing that they need only obtain a plurality for the candidate backed by them, will see to it that the opposition vote is well split up. A conspicuous instance of nomination by a minority is furnished in the Democratic primaries in the State of Illinois last summer. Adlai Stevenson the machine candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, polled only 70,000 odd votes, as against a divided opposition of nearly 100,000 votes, and yet Stevenson was the winner."

In the same speech Mr. Wadsworth exposed the hollowness of the argument that direct nominating primaries will do away with boss rule.

"Take my word for it, the greatest fallacy which advocates of direct primary nominations indulge in is that this proposed system will do away with party leaders or so-called 'bosses.' It will not do away with them. You cannot legislate strong, commanding party leadership out of existence. Gentlemen, leadership has existed since the beginning of the world in every human undertaking, and will continue to exist to the end of time. The desire and necessity for leadership is inherent in human nature. People accept it and follow it implicitly so long as it is honest, intelligent, and conserves what they deem to be for their best interest. When it ceases to do this they turn and rend it. The overturning of one leader is followed instantly by the setting up of another.

"Under the present political system in this State a party leader holds his place by virtue of a majority of the votes cast at the official party primary, and he is charged officially with the responsibility for the general policies of his party and the character of its nominees. His every act is subjected to the closest scrutiny by the people. Under the proposed system, the party leader ceases to be charged with any responsibility for his party's policies or the character of its nominees for public office. His influence

will continue to control, but his public responsibility will have ceased. Under this system a party leader can become a real boss with impunity, because he is immune from punishment. No matter to what depths of hypocrisy, demagogy and corruption he may sink in accomplishing his purpose, the fact that he accomplishes it through the apparent consent of the people as expressed by a plurality at the primary polls furnishes him with a certificate of character."

In the battle which ensued against State-wide direct nominating primaries as advocated by Governor Hughes and supported by the majority of the public press and by a great number of self-constituted "accelerators of public opinion," Mr. Wadsworth displayed not only the sound practical bent of his thinking but his independence of action.

The Republican State Convention of 1908 re-nominated Mr. Hughes, but about one hundred and fifty of the delegates voted for Speaker Wadsworth as a protest against Mr. Hughes' advocacy of State-wide direct nominating primaries.

Reelected for a second term, Mr. Hughes was Governor during four annual sessions of the legislature and in each of those sessions a direct nomina-

tions bill was presented by his supporters to the Assembly and as often defeated by a direct vote. This conflict culminated in 1910 when Mr. Taft was president and Mr. Roosevelt returned from his hunting trip in Africa. Governor Hughes called an extra session of the legislature for the obvious purpose of compelling a reversal of the Assembly's action in rejecting his bill. Mr. Roosevelt let it be known publicly that he too demanded that the Assembly reverse itself and President Taft likewise espoused the cause of Governor Hughes. Thus all the force and power of the Federal administration at Washington and the Hughes administration at Albany were brought to bear upon the lower house of the New York legislature. The extra session met. "And it was Wadsworth's fight." Called upon to swallow its convictions repeatedly expressed in previous votes on this measure, the Assembly accepted the challenge and, after a vigorous debate in which Wadsworth emphasized the independence of the legislature, the direct nominations bill was once again rejected.

The New York *Sun* in its issue of July 2, 1910, said:

"Had the Hon. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., lost his battle in the Assembly on Thursday, even defeat,

following such a struggle as he had made, would have been honorable and must have commanded admiration. The courage, the consistency, the ability to lead men and the skill to lead them effectively, which he had displayed, would have earned him a place in the respect and affection of all who honor a gallant fighter. . . .

"Over the shoulders of the Speaker, moreover, there has been laid first the lash of the Executive and then the far graver menace of that 'Big Stick' which hitherto has fallen once and then no more. In the frenzied declarations of a partisan newspaper Mr. Wadsworth's political future has been daily ended, and by his own decision he has accepted the handicap to future political promotion which leadership in a factional fight eventually brings.

"Because he believed the campaign of his opponents to be wrong in itself, and because he believed even more firmly that the methods employed were a menace to orderly government, the Hon. James W. Wadsworth for four years has fought steadily and sturdily. In a situation of chaos and cowardice, while weak men have whimpered and self-seekers have skulked or skedaddled, he has stood to his guns.

"To-day Mr. Wadsworth stands forth as the one

Republican leader in the nation who has met the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt in a fair fight and neither fled nor lost."

In the autumn of 1910 Governor Hughes resigned to become Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Governor White. The Republican State Convention was held at Saratoga as usual and the State Committee, dominated largely by the intellectual influence of William Barnes, the Albany leader, selected for Temporary Chairman the Hon. James S. Sherman, Vice-President of the United States. It is customary for the Chairman of the State Committee to announce in advance the name of the committee's selection for Temporary Chairman. No sooner had the State Committee made known its choice of Vice-President Sherman than Mr. Roosevelt announced his candidacy and it became apparent that he was out to capture the Republican organization in New York State. Mr. Roosevelt came to Saratoga, opened up headquarters at the United States Hotel, organized his following and addressed public gatherings. His prestige was immense and for many he had a great sentimental appeal but Wadsworth, while feeling a great regard for Mr.

Roosevelt personally, had sufficient forecast of the issues of the future to stand by Mr. Sherman. The galleries were packed. Public interest was intense. By a close vote Mr. Roosevelt—a delegate from Nassau County—was elected Temporary Chairman and Wadsworth found a great deal of enjoyment in leading a minority amounting to little less than half the convention. As is customary, the convention adopted a resolution that the rules of the State Assembly, so far as applicable, should be the rules of the convention and Wadsworth as Speaker of the Assembly had, of course, a precise and intimate knowledge of those rules. Whenever the Temporary Chairman acted contrary to the rules, Wadsworth raised a point of order and would quote the rule from memory. Mr. Roosevelt, who cared nothing for rules, would satisfy himself by saying: "The gentleman from Livingston is completely mistaken—BANG" (pounding the gavel as Wadsworth stood smiling in the center aisle.) It was very important for Mr. Roosevelt and his followers to have the standing committees of the convention made up for the most part of delegates committed to his program. This was particularly true of the committee on resolutions which had the drafting of the platform. It had been the unwritten rule that

the members of the standing committees should be recommended to the temporary chairman by the delegates from the districts entitled to representation on such standing committees. Thus it had been the custom to have the committee on resolutions made up of one delegate from each senatorial district, chosen by the delegates of the district from among themselves. Discerning, however, that if he accepted the choice of the delegates, the committee on resolutions would contain a majority against his program, Mr. Roosevelt ignored the recommendation of two or three district delegations and appointed men to the committee on resolutions who did not even live within those districts. Excited interchanges followed but Mr. Roosevelt had his way, as the rules of the convention did not make the recommendations of the district delegates binding upon him. A recess followed until the next day and meanwhile the committee on resolutions met to draft the platform. Wadsworth was a member of this committee. Mr. Roosevelt's followers were in the majority and elected William A. Prendergast, Chairman. The platform was worked out without much trouble until the committee came to the direct primary plank. Wadsworth proposed a delegate convention system of nominating candidates for

office, the election of the delegates, however, to be carefully regulated by law and on the roll call this plank was adopted by a majority of one. The dismay of Mr. Roosevelt's supporters on the committee was extraordinary and they contrived to procure a delay in order to permit Mr. Roosevelt to exercise his influence. On reconsidering, one member changed his vote and a direct primary plank was on the following day reported to the convention from the committee on resolutions. Wadsworth submitted a minority report embodying his proposed plank and drawn with a view to presenting the issue upon the most fundamental considerations. When the committee on resolutions reported to the convention, Wadsworth offered the minority report from the floor and asked that a debate be held, each side to have one hour, Prendergast to control the time of those who spoke in support of the committee's report and Wadsworth to apportion the time of those who spoke in opposition. The majority, unprepared for debate, were astonished by this request. Wadsworth himself spoke and so did William Barnes. Robert S. Conklin and Ezra Prentice, Assemblymen from New York County, had been members of a special committee appointed by the Assembly and had studied the operation of direct primaries in Wis-

consin, Oregon and other States and from that circumstance their speeches on behalf of the minority report had particular effectiveness. At the end of the debate Mr. Roosevelt himself had to take the platform to beg his followers to stand by him and the committee's plank was carried by a slim majority.

In the ensuing election, the Democrats not only elected their candidate for Governor, John A. Dix, but captured both houses of the legislature, following which a direct primary law was enacted. The law was repealed in Governor Miller's administration so far as it affected the nomination of candidates for Governor, for State elective officers, for United States Senator and for the State judiciary. This modification of the direct primary law was based upon the considerations which Wadsworth when Speaker had so fully and forcibly put before the Assembly, for the actual operation of the law amply justified the fight he waged so many years. Even during the period when the direct primary law applied to all State offices, the Republicans held an unofficial State convention before the primaries for the purpose of selecting candidates to be recommended to the enrolled Republicans throughout the State and also to adopt a representative though unofficial platform.

In the 1910 Assembly in connection with an inquiry by the State Senate into the conduct of one of its members, formerly a member of the Assembly, it was proposed that there should be an investigation of the sessions of 1901, 1902, 1903—a case of expediency pursuing sensation. Leaving the Speaker's chair to declare his opposition, Wadsworth took occasion to express that disregard of political expediency which he has manifested so often that, as part of his character, it has become one ground of his popularity:

"Political expediency! I would to heaven, sir, that baneful influence of expediency might be driven from these halls. It is a power and an influence which has done more to poison legislation at its source, to halt the orderly and natural progress of prosperity and civilization than any other element in our public life.

"Expediency! That consideration which tempts men in public life to pretend to be what they are not, which leads men to sacrifice their self-respect and their convictions, which impels men to vote for measures in which they do not believe or against measures in which they do believe, which discounts sincerity and courage and puts a premium upon hypoc-

risy and cowardice, which is conceived in the idea of catching the votes of a few at the expense of deceiving the many, and whereby members of legislative bodies are drawn perilously near to breaking their oaths of office, in the taking of which they solemnly swear to perform the duties of their office to the best of their ability. And if the perpetration of the madness and folly which I believe is embodied in the proposal before us to-night, is urged chiefly upon the old argument of political expediency and my best information is to that effect, then, sir, I desire to raise my voice publicly in protest and express the hope that this House will not permit itself to be governed by any such unworthy consideration. Let us discard this remarkable proposal and get down to work at the tasks which confront us; let us take up and solve sensibly and wisely, with attention undiverted, the problems which are before us; let us perform the duty expected of us by the people of the State who sent us here, with thoroughness and with all reasonable dispatch; and when we have finished our work let us adjourn, go home and accept the verdict of that great body of quiet, sensible, thinking citizens who now and for all time to come, are the court of last resort."

After serving six years in the Assembly, Wadsworth felt he had enough of that particular experience and was not a candidate for re-election in 1910. He held the Speakership during five tumultuous years and the work was so heavy that he was under the necessity of working on Saturdays and Sundays to keep up. He felt that he had done his bit and desired to travel and rest. With Mrs. Wadsworth he made a tour of Europe and Northern Africa from January to May, 1911. While in England, the travelers had the pleasure of listening to an interesting debate between Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George on the proposal to limit the veto power of the House of Lords, now confined to a suspensory veto so that a measure supported by the majority of the House of Commons may be enacted into law within the life of a single parliament. In Northern Africa, Wadsworth was struck by the public works, roads and colonial administration of the French. In Egypt he met Sir Edwin Gorst, the British resident minister, the immediate successor of Lord Cromer, and in contemplating the great works of irrigation, the freedom of the government from corruption, the economic impetus of modern methods, he came to have the highest regard for the work of the British colonial administration in its improvement of the country.

CHAPTER V

While in Egypt, Wadsworth received a letter from London conveying an interesting and novel suggestion. The writer, his widowed aunt, Mrs. Adair, owned the famous J. A. Ranch in Texas, left her by her late husband, John Adair. She used to go from London to Texas almost every year for a month or two to look things over. Knowing that her nephew Jim was a good farmer and cattle man, she asked him to take over the management of the ranch. Jim met his aunt in London and on returning to America decided to make a try at running the Texas ranch, at the same time keeping up his business at home. Situated in the Texas "Panhandle," the ranch consisted of a single block of 525,000 acres, completely fenced and cross-fenced into pastures, grazing 27,000 head of cattle. "J. A." is perhaps the most famous brand of cattle in the whole Southwest.

In the early spring of 1911, Wadsworth arrived in Texas with full power of attorney. He spent nearly

all his time on the ranch, and at the very first round-up, when he worked in the saddle with the men, cutting out 1500 or 2000 head, the cowboys were astonished to see how much he knew about cattle. They had visualized New York State as located "on either side of Broadway." He assuredly knew cattle, their quality, care and handling, for cattle, good, bad or indifferent, are the same whether in Texas or western New York. Within a week, however, Wadsworth found that there was at least one big thing he had to learn as soon as possible—the range itself. Some of it was very rough country, with deep canyons, which served to shelter the cattle from the winter northers. Much of it might be called mesa country; some was rolling, and some again was flat. There were a great many water-courses, each with its name, but a good part of the year mere dry beds of sand. It took him two years to learn the country, for one could know it only by riding over it and riding over it meant working over it.

Wadsworth was manager of the J. A. Ranch for five years. He remained at the ranch about half the time, for he would come up to the Genesee Valley for a month to see to his farm, then go back to the Texas ranch for two months, and so alternate be-

tween the two. His stay in Texas was principally during the spring, summer and autumn months, the active work of the ranch starting in April and running to November. Mrs. Wadsworth went to the ranch after the dry summer heat was over. Two of their children were old enough to go to school and could not go to the ranch during the school term—and in the summer it was too hot. It was during this period in the Senator's career—in 1914—that his third child was born.

Wadsworth's daylight hours were spent wholly in the saddle. It was handling cattle all the time and everything the men did had some relation to cattle. Thus the ranch had about a thousand acres of farm land for "dry farming" where sorghum, kaffir corn and Milo maize were raised to be fed to cattle that grew weak from hardship toward the winter's end. The headquarters were comfortable and there were branch camps scattered over the range. There were about fifty-five cowboys all told and a bookkeeper and the headquarters' cook. Once in a while Wadsworth had to be in the office to take care of the business end of the ranch but otherwise his time was spent on the range. He rode, worked and lived with the cowboys—the outfit as it is called—who round up the cattle day after day, brand the calves, sort

out particular kinds of cattle and drift them off toward their proper destinations.

Wadsworth was very fond of the cowboys who were all athletes, lean, hard and in fine condition. They were equally fond of their "boss" who would do the mean jobs with them. Cowboys are a clean-living, clean-mouthed set of men with an instinctive courtesy and an habitual deference toward women. They are always great jokers, seldom boisterous, but having a quiet smile and a slow drawl—the type of humor illustrated in Owen Wister's *Virginian.*

Wadsworth found the cowboys the easiest of men to get along with, for men who live on the open range have a spirit of cooperation seldom found in crowded places. A cowboy never takes the attitude that having finished his own job he should not be expected to go and help another fellow finish his. No man in the outfit—including the "boss"—ever quit a day's work till everybody quit. Orders are not given in an imperative tone but as conversational suggestions that such and such a thing might be a pretty good thing to do. If one were to say, "Bill Jones, I want you to ride over there to do that," it would almost "hit him between the eyes." But if one says, "Bill, what do you think we might do about that? Don't you think it would be a good idea

to do so and so?" he will say, "I don't know but what that would be a pretty good thing, boss" and will go and do it.

The cowboys are up with the sun and work all day, nearly all the time in the saddle, for their work does not stop until dark. The outfit, whose work it is to do the branding, sleep on the ground seven months in the year; they keep traveling the range and rounding up cattle and carry their own mess wagon and a cook. Wadsworth's outfit used one hundred and fifty saddle horses, each cowboy being assigned nine horses and using three mounts a day so that every horse had one working day and two days of rest in three. When not under saddle, the horses grazed along with the outfit and a man known as the horse rustler took charge of them. The work was usually laid out so that the men could finish handling each day's round-up before dark and then turn the cattle loose. In recent years riding herd at night is rare. If it was needful to hold a herd of cattle until the morning, they were usually driven into a pen nearby, for pens were scattered over the range.

The J. A. Ranch like other well managed ranches had strict rules which the cowboys themselves acknowledged to be necessary: gambling and drunken-

WADSWORTH ON THE RANGE

ness were rigidly prohibited. In honor of Independence Day, the cowboys had a vacation of four days. They went to town, a railroad town twenty-three miles or so from headquarters. Their next vacation was Christmas. On Sundays the work went steadily on, for in handling cattle each day's work merges into the next day's work and a gang of twenty-five men cannot be left idle out on the prairie.

While Wadsworth was on the J. A. Ranch, old Charlie Goodnight was breeding buffalo at his adjoining ranch. He had a herd of about two hundred head for he was experimenting in crossing buffalo with cattle to orginate a hybrid which he called "cattalo." His object was to produce an animal immune from blackleg, a contagious disease that apparently lives in the ground or the grass and attacks and kills the fattest and best of the young stock. The vaccine, then coming into use, was a liquid—most unhandy as someone was always spilling it in the confusion of the round-up. It is now administered in the form of a little black pill injected under the skin. On the J. A. Ranch the calves were vaccinated when branded and every six months thereafter during the first two years, for vaccination was found to give immunity for six months and when over two years old the animals

are no longer subject to blackleg. The buffalo never has blackleg at any age. Hence Goodnight's idea of crossing buffalo with cattle. But for a number of reasons the scheme did not work out very well. In crossing the cow buffalo with the bull of the domestic breed, Goodnight found the flesh of the cattalo had a gamey taste and to eliminate this he re-crossed and re-crossed until he so weakened the buffalo strain that the hybrid was as subject to blackleg as pure bred calves.

Wadsworth had an amusing experience when big-hearted Goodnight asked him to bring an outfit of about twenty cowboys to his place to help him run his buffaloes through a dipping vat, that is a concrete trough about three or four feet wide and some six feet deep, sunk in the ground. The cattle are driven down a chute at one end and given a push into the mixture, forcing them to swim through, thus eliminating mange. Goodnight wanted to make sure that his pet buffaloes did not have mange. He built a big circular corral, ten or twelve feet high, of heavy cedar rails and a chute leading from the corral into the vat. Buffaloes are quiet enough when one rides among them on a cow pony—if not white or gray. One or two of Wadsworth's boys were on white or gray ponies. Moreover, if one starts to drive them,

buffaloes are apt to get excited; they cannot be herded like cattle. One has to be very slow and cautious and the best the cowboys could do was to drift them toward the corral. Goodnight bossed the job. Finally the cowboys got the bison into the corral but unfortunately as soon as a buffalo finds himself penned up, he goes berserker. In a wild frenzy the buffaloes tore the corral to pieces and scattered over the plains in every direction but the vat. The cowboys tried to head them off but never turned a single one. Goodnight was furious and shouted the stinging insult—he could think of no worse epithet—"Cowboys ? You're nothin' but a lot of cotton pickers !" As for the buffaloes, they largely escaped upon the J. A. Ranch and Goodnight was much afraid he would lose them so begged Wadsworth to see to it that the boys drifted them toward his place whenever they got a chance. All the rest of that summer the cowboys of the J. A. Ranch, when rounding up cattle, would every now and then spy two or three buffaloes—sometimes on a hilltop silhouetted against the sunset and looking across the country as if posing for a picture—and eventually, Wadsworth's cowboys got all Goodnight's buffaloes back to him for further experimentation.

The Senator still owns a pasture of some six thou-

sand acres, acquired in 1912, adjoining the J. A. Ranch and ships cattle from Texas to his farm at Geneseo to fatten and market them. He still speaks with great enthusiasm of his experience on the range. "I enjoyed the life tremendously. Down there I stayed young."

While on the range, Wadsworth kept in close touch with home affairs, and in 1912 was chairman of the New York delegation to the Republican National Convention at Chicago. It was the year when Taft and Roosevelt joined battle. It was impossible for Wadsworth to support Mr. Roosevelt in advocating the recall of judicial decisions, and for the same reason the majority of the delegates from Mr. Roosevelt's home State opposed him. They stood 78 for Taft to 12 for Roosevelt throughout most of the balloting at the convention. Feeling ran high. Two hundred seats were contested. If New York supported Taft, Roosevelt carried Ohio. President Taft and Vice-President Sherman were renominated. Mr. Roosevelt's followers, for the most part, refused to abide by the result and subsequently nominated him the Progressive candidate for the Presidency, with Governor Hiram Johnson as nominee for Vice-President.

Mr. Roosevelt had cause to regret his not having

approved the proposal which Wadsworth, in conjunction with Congressman Burke of Pennsylvania, put forward in the Rules Committee of the 1908 National Convention to correct the disproportionate representation allowed to the Southern States. Their votes were cast largely by Federal office-holders responsive to the National administration. In those days each State had four delegates at large and two delegates from each Congressional district. As a result, a Mississippi district, in which not more than 3,000 votes had ever been cast for the Republican ticket, had as much influence in selecting the candidate of the Republican party for President as Wadsworth's home district, with a Republican vote of 30,000. The Burke-Wadsworth proposal, without affecting the delegates at large, provided that each Congressional district should be represented by one delegate plus an additional delegate for so many Republican votes cast at the last election.

Beaten in the Rules Committee of the 1908 Convention by a few votes, Burke and Wadsworth presented a minority report from the floor. Congressman Burke made the motion for its adoption and, on behalf of New York, Wadsworth seconded it, arguing that the existing system was the negation of democracy and representative government. It was

reported that a special wire carried his speech to the ear of Mr. Roosevelt in the White House. New York voted solidly for the proposal but the management of the Convention let it be known that Mr. Roosevelt's administration was opposed to a change of the rules and by a narrow margin the proposal was defeated. Had Mr. Roosevelt accepted the Burke-Wadsworth plan in 1908, the Taft-controlled Southern delegates in 1912 would have been greatly reduced in numbers and Mr. Roosevelt might well have been the Republican nominee that year.

The Progressive party in New York organized a separate State convention in 1912 and nominated Oscar Straus for Governor. The Democrats nominated William Sulzer who was later impeached and removed from office. It was of course apparent that the Republican candidate must be foredoomed to defeat by the division in the party. It was therefore hardly more than an act of public service and of party loyalty to accept the nomination and lead the forlorn hope. It was however highly important that the Republican party should run second, not third, for if the Progressives nosed out second place, they and the Democrats would have the naming of all election inspectors for two years to come.

Wadsworth and his friend Job E. Hedges, con-

sulted together and in the absence of other aspirants decided they would raise some public interest by coming forward as rival candidates for the Republican nomination for Governor, the loser to accept the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor. In a good-natured contest, Hedges got a majority of the delegates and the nomination for Governor. Wadsworth was immediately nominated for Lieutenant-Governor. They made a cheerful and gallant fight and in the outcome, the Republican party stood a bad second and the Progressive party a worse third.

In the national elections no candidate won a popular majority, Wilson receiving 6,286,214 votes, Roosevelt 4,126,020, Taft 3,483,922, but the Democratic candidate carried 40 states and won 435 electoral votes. Mr. Roosevelt had 88 electoral votes and President Taft, who carried only Vermont and Utah, had but eight. To everyone it was apparent that the continued division of the Republican party could only mean continued Democratic supremacy. Wadsworth was convinced that three great parties could not co-exist in the United States as such a division was contrary to the political genius of the American people and would in practice result in bringing about bloc government so disastrously exemplified in continental Europe.

After 1912, the wave of radicalism, marked in one phase by the advocacy of the initiative, the referendum, the recall and direct nominating primaries, began to recede.

It was in 1914 that Wadsworth received a message from New York that called him back from the life of the ranch to the responsibilities of public affairs. He was out on the range with the outfit, about thirty miles from headquarters, toward the day's end, and was just winding up the day's work in a branding pen when a cowboy came riding over the hill. He had covered thirty miles of rough country and, drawing up alongside his boss, he said drawlingly:

"Mr. Wadsworth, I brought a telegram out for you that they telephoned from town out to headquarters. The operator said we had better get it to you just as soon as we could, so I just thought I would ride down here to give it to you."

With that, the cowboy gave Wadsworth the message taken over the telephone at headquarters. It was to the effect that a mass meeting at Geneseo had adopted a resolution in which, after reciting the decision of Mr. Elihu Root not to run again for office

and expressing great regret at his decision, those present at the meeting, as the friends and neighbors of Mr. Wadsworth, urged him to offer himself as a candidate for the Republican nomination for Senator of the United States in the coming primaries.

CHAPTER VI

The mass meeting at Geneseo calling for his nomination as Senator was a surprise to Mr. Wadsworth, but how well it expressed the sense of the community appeared from the primaries. Mr. Wadsworth who had so long headed the opposition to direct nominating primaries was the first candidate for Senator of the United States from New York nominated by the enrolled Republican voters in a State-wide direct primary. This outcome was the more remarkable in view of the fact that his opponent in the primaries was a man of great popularity and long public service, William M. Calder of Brooklyn, then Congressman, supported by all the county organizations of Greater New York. Wadsworth, however, met a very friendly reception in the Republican Club houses of New York City. In the State as a whole, he had a clear majority.

The Democratic party, on the same day, nominated James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador

to the German Empire. Mr. Gerard, who had attracted favorable attention by the way in which he helped Americans to get out of Germany at the beginning of the World War, remained in Berlin throughout the campaign.

The leading issue in the senatorial campaign of 1914 was the tariff. The Democratic Underwood Tariff, approved by President Wilson on October 5, 1913, markedly reduced the duties on more than nine hundred articles and the effect of this low tariff was felt all through the spring and summer of 1914. The World War interrupted foreign importations on the one hand and, on the other, stimulated our industries but it was not until midwinter 1915–1916 that the huge requirements of England, France and their allies began to be felt in this country.

Campaigning through the State in the autumn of 1914, Wadsworth encountered many evidences of unemployment, especially in industrial centers. Big plants were closing down or running on part time. Always a protectionist, Wadsworth cited in his speeches the instances that came before his eyes. On the very day he addressed a political meeting in Dunkirk, the American Locomotive Works there closed down and the streets that night were full of men who could not go back to work the next morn-

ing. In Rochester the clothing industries were crippled. Schenectady and Troy were likewise hard hit. All through the autumn of 1914 there was a revulsion against the Democratic low tariff. The Progressives came back to the Republican party and were met half way. Wadsworth defeated Gerard by some 67,000 votes and at the same time the Republicans carried the Governorship, their complete State ticket and both houses of the Legislature.

Senator Wadsworth and Senator Harding, later President, were elected at the same time and took office on March 5, 1915. They were seated together in the Senate Chamber and had such a spirit of good-fellowship that as they advanced in seniority and moved toward the front row, they kept a friendly understanding that they would move together, and for six years these close friends remained side by side. It is interesting in this connection to note that in 1920, as candidate for the Presidency, Senator Harding said in a speech at Buffalo:

"I have both a personal and a political, as well as a patriotic, appeal. There is not a candidacy in the United States that concerns me more. I want my devoted friend, I want your able senator, Jim Wadsworth, sent back to the United States Senate.

You let me tell you: There is not a young man in the United States Senate to-day who gives such promise of eminent public service as your own Senator Wadsworth. I have sat by him for five years of service. We have been intimate and confidential. We have exchanged opinions and contemplated public problems together, and I know his capacity and his courage and his utter cleanliness; and I want to tell you something more, because it has been discussed a little in the campaign. I don't think all of you in Buffalo were for me for the nomination at Chicago.

"I am not finding any fault about that, either, because I never held myself to be the one available man in America, but though I was a pal and a seatmate of your senator, and I esteem him as much as any public man I ever knew, Senator Wadsworth and I never had a word about the Presidency until the day I was nominated in Chicago. I don't think he was for me. But that did not mar my estimate of him, and I very much hope to see him sent back to the senate with a plurality that speaks the confidence of the Empire State in one of the most eminent young men in American public life."

Wadsworth was made Secretary of the Republican Conference of the Senate and has held the position

ever since. In the Senate there is a group of committees known as committees first-class, and no Senator can be on more than two of them. Wadsworth, as soon as he entered the Senate, was made a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, of which he became Chairman in 1919, and of the Committee on Agriculture from which some years later he was transferred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and then to the Finance Committee. He was besides a member of the Committee on Claims, which is one of the lesser committees of the Senate.

The Senator brought to the Committee on Military Affairs the advantage of recent experience, for in the winter of 1913, at the suggestion of officers of the New York National Guard and of a cavalry officer in the regular army, he had helped to organize a troop of cavalry in the Geneseo Valley. At the time, the First Cavalry, New York National Guard, needed one more troop to complete its organization and it was interesting, as an experiment, to organize and maintain a National Guard troop of cavalry in the country. Wadsworth enlisted the aid of a young man named N. C. Shiverick, a graduate of West Point, who had served as a second lieutenant in the cavalry of the regular army, chiefly along the

Mexican border. He had resigned from the regular army in 1912, and had come to the Genesee Valley to live. Shiverick accordingly became captain and Wadsworth, first lieutenant, in Troop M, First Cavalry, New York National Guard, a troop recruited in the villages of Geneseo and Avon and the surrounding farming country. The troop received equipment from the Federal Government, but had to furnish their own horses and provide for their upkeep. Captain Shiverick was a very able instructor and this well-organized, well-disciplined and well-mounted troop of cavalry, all made up of farmer boys, was the only one of its kind in the East. When elected to the Senate, Wadsworth was urged to retain his commission and did so until June, 1916. Every week during the winter of 1915, he used to go up-State to attend the drill. He afterward said: "I worked like a dog at it, but I loved it,—it was great." At least 200 to 250 men have passed through that troop and their part time military training is already showing results, for they are leaders in every community undertaking. The organization of the troop helped sportsmanship, appreciation of the out-of-doors and interest in national defense and government as well.

Troop M went to the Mexican border as part of

General O'Ryan's National Guard Division and Wadsworth was confronted with the necessity of deciding whether he should serve as a first lieutenant in Troop M or in the Senate of the United States to carry out the mandate of the people. It was the hardest decision Wadsworth had ever been called upon to make. He was cut to the quick to feel that the duties of his office conflicted with all the impulses of his nature. General O'Ryan, as he later stated, would, as Wadsworth's commanding officer, have demanded his resignation had he subordinated the greater need for him in the Senate to the lesser usefulness of a first lieutenant. How well Senator Wadsworth served his country's cause was attested by General Pershing who in inscribing to Wadsworth a copy of the General's official report, used this language:

"To the Honorable James W. Wadsworth . . . whose vigorous support of the efforts of our armies abroad contributed vitally to our success, and with warm personal regards."

On Thanksgiving Day, 1916, Wadsworth visited his comrades and stayed four or five days to acquaint himself with their life on the border. As he left,

he gave his word that he would visit the division every Thanksgiving Day wherever it might be mobilized by General O'Ryan. Accordingly, a year later, when the division was mobilized at Spartansburg, South Carolina,—at Camp Wadsworth,—the Senator was with Troop M over Thanksgiving Day. In 1918, when the division was in France, Wadsworth, arriving shortly after the Armistice, again visited the division on Thanksgiving Day. Troop M went through the hardest fighting in the war. Their horses—with which they hated to part—were taken from them and they served as machine gunners in the 27th Division that broke the Hindenburg Line. As soon as they were back home they insisted on being reorganized again as cavalry. They are such to-day and one of the best organizations in the State.

His experience with Troop M and other units, convinced the Senator that the morale of a military body is greatly enhanced if that body is drawn from a single community rather than gathered haphazard from all over the country. Coming from one neighborhood, the men are not strangers to one another: they feel they represent their home. Wadsworth in a speech in the Senate on January 29, 1919, said on this subject:

"Note how the British do it, Mr. President. So far as they could they operated their replacement system so that a soldier who volunteered from the county of Suffolk in England, joined a Suffolk battalion in France, where he would have some friends. Battalion after battalion was organized in the British Army, as it grew from a small regular establishment up to a great force of 4,000,000 men, upon that basis and upon that theory. The Worcesters, the Norfolks, the Northamptons, the Sussex, the Irish, the Welsh, the Scotch all were recruited, so far as possible, from certain counties or regions, and replaced, so far as possible, from those same regions. The result is that the Suffolks had great pride in their own organization, and tried to outdo and outrival the Sussex battalions. The Scotch, all serving together, rival the Welsh, and the Connaught Rangers, from Ireland, had the same kind of friendly rivalry and spirit and morale. Such a system, Mr. President, makes better soldiers. To have that kind of feeling in a military unit is a great military asset."

So, too, a unit which has a long history and has built up its own traditions—for instance, the 165th Infantry in the 42nd Division, the old 69th regiment, New York—has, when the last desperate effort is

called for, the added incentive of a stirring memory. The 27th Division, a solid National Guard division, had that sense of local pride and it had a certain character, a certain snappiness—the British might call it swank—that was all its own.

When the 107th Infantry—the old 7th New York regiment—passed in review before King George, then visiting France, the King turned to his chief of staff and said: "These men march like my guards." They had their tradition.

The World War, British interference with our commerce, German violations of international law in sinking unarmed ships without providing for the safety of their passengers, the Mexican troubles and border raids, all turned men's minds to the subject of national defense. Senator George Chamberlain of Oregon, for whom Wadsworth came to have a deep admiration, was chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. The committee did not divide on partisan lines, but worked hard to revise the military law, with a view to an enlargement of the regular army and an improvement in the status of the National Guard. It reported a series of amendments embodied in the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, consisting of 128 sections. The Act accomplished various improvements, though in a

piecemeal manner, authorized an increase of the regular army to 250,000 men by five annual increments and made provision for assisting the National Guard in the way of equipment and mounts and for furnishing it with instructors from the regular army.

Senator Wadsworth was strongly opposed to the proposal of an embargo on munitions to the warring countries, an embargo which would have crippled the Allies then in control of the sea. Any embargo would have been grossly unneutral, as it would have meant a change in the rules after the war commenced and one that could advantage Germany only. The Senator foresaw that whether we wanted to get into the war or not, we would be drawn into it and he urged preparedness.

In 1916, Wadsworth was chairman of the New York delegation at the Republican National Convention at Chicago, which nominated Charles Evans Hughes. President Woodrow Wilson was reelected in a close contest. The campaign slogan of President Wilson's supporters—"He kept us out of war"—expressed a spirit that Senator Wadsworth regarded as demoralizing and as weakening the fibre of the American people in the face of a possible national emergency. Senator Wadsworth campaigned in New

York State in support of Governor Whitman who was reelected, and made speeches in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma at the instance of the Republican National Committee.

At the end of January, 1917, Germany declared for unrestricted submarine warfare and actual overt acts followed. President Wilson dismissed the German Ambassador on February 3, and called Congress to meet in extraordinary session on April 1. Speaking at Kismet Temple, Brooklyn, a few days before Congress convened, Wadsworth urged preparedness in view of the manifest possibility of war, preparedness in a spiritual as well as in a military sense. At the time many thought that if we went to war we should restrict our activity to furnishing money and supplies to the Allies. The Senator avowed it was his hope that the first thing done would be to send a division of regular troops to France to show not alone our friends, but still more, our foes, that we were there to fight it out. Curiously, this utterance drew quite a number of hisses, followed by great applause. Evidently, some were not prepared in soul to face the reality of war and the sending of American soldiers to Europe took them aback. President Wilson personally addressed Congress on April 2. It was an impressive moment. Both the

Republican and Democratic Senators and Representatives were overwhelmingly in favor of war. On April 6, the House of Representatives by a vote of 373 to 50, and the Senate by a vote of 82 to 6—Senator Wadsworth voting with the majority—adopted a joint resolution declaring a state of war as existing by the act of the German Government. The resolution was as follows:

"Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

CHAPTER VII

As soon as the United States entered the war, the value of preparedness was apparent, chiefly by its absence, though in some instances the lack of national policy was supplied by individual initiative. One such instance is striking. Before Congress convened in extraordinary session in April, 1917, the President, the Secretary of War and their military advisers reached the conclusion that the army must be recruited by selective draft. General Crowder, at that time Judge Advocate General of the Army, was sent for and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker said to him:

"General Crowder, the President has decided that if we go into this, we shall raise our army by a selective draft. I want you to go back to your office and draft a bill with that purpose in mind."

The next day General Crowder presented to the Secretary of War a proposed Selective Draft Law,

completely worked out, for submission to Congress. It turned out that the General, who was a good lawyer as well, had for many years deeply and carefully studied how the United States should raise its armies in such an emergency as faced it. He had studied the operation of the draft law in the Civil War and had uncanny ability in judging the psychology of the public. With the prevision of a good officer he had his bill prepared and waiting when the need arose. When the bill reached the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, it was improved in some respects, as General Crowder acknowledged, but essentially it was the General's bill that was enacted in the middle of May, 1917. In May and June, 1917, the first Liberty Loan was offered to the public and was more than fifty per cent oversubscribed by four million persons. The second Liberty Loan in October of the same year had ten million subscribers. The United States Shipping Board which Congress had created before our entry into the war caused to be organized the Emergency Fleet Corporation, through which the Government carried out an immense shipbuilding program. General Pershing landed at Liverpool June 8, 1917, and in the same month the French were heartened by the sight of the first division of American regulars in field kit.

The Senate Committee on Military Affairs took a deep and continuous interest in the effort to make America's contribution to the conduct of the war decisive. Wadsworth personally visited a number of the big cantonments into which the troops were pouring, so as to obtain a birdseye view of the situation, the training and care of the men, the condition of the equipment and the supplies. He went to the Bethlehem, Midvale, Symington, Savage, Curtiss Aircraft and many other plants where cannon, machine guns, airplanes and all kinds of military equipment were processed. At the outset, it must be remembered, we had to depend upon France and England for a large part of our supplies, especially our ordnance materials. Our aircraft program was most ambitious, the slogan being "we will darken the skies of France with our planes." The undertaking was too well advertised, was halting and falling down. There were so few men in the United States who knew anything about manufacturing airplanes. Everything drove home the lesson that preparation must come before—not after—war. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs, Senator Chamberlain presiding, held an inquiry in December of 1917 and Senator Wadsworth devoted much time and thought to the work.

The character of the Committee's work and the confusion of administrative functions which its inquiries disclosed, sufficiently appear from Senator Wadsworth's speech in the Senate on February 5, 1918, in which he said:

"The Committee on Military Affairs commenced its labors by an inquiry into the management and operations of some of the bureaus of the War Department. We first took up the Ordnance Bureau and endeavored to take stock, as it were, of our ordnance supplies and the progress being made toward an adequate supply.

"Next we conducted an inquiry into the Quartermaster General's office. With respect to the supplies which must come as a result of the operation of the Ordnance Bureau and the Quartermaster Bureau, the committee, in my judgment, discovered a distressing state of affairs. Grave differences of opinion exist upon some of the points brought out . . . .

"As we proceeded, those of us who attended the hearings every day and listened to all the testimony became deeply impressed with the conviction that purchase and production and initial distribution of the vast amount of supplies must be essentially an

industrial operation and that military men, no matter how distinguished and capable in their profession, are, with very rare exceptions, inexperienced in such matters and therefore incapable of bringing about the best results in the shortest possible time. We found also that in addition to this fundamental handicap, these supply bureaus were further handicapped, and very seriously, by a condition which springs from years of routine operation, regulated and checked . . . which condition is popularly described as 'red tape.' The military channels through which a matter must proceed are so long and so tortuous, and so numerous and so minute are the formalities and departmental customs which must be followed, that exceedingly grave delays have occurred . . . In a word, we found the machinery slow and creaking and in some important instances the engine 'stalled'.

"In addition to the army officers who appeared before us, we obtained exceedingly valuable testimony from representatives of some of our great manufacturing plants, which have received orders from the supply bureaus and are expected to turn out the weapons and equipment of the soldier in tremendous quantities. Their testimony, I believe, broadened our view of the situation and painted more vividly

the great picture of industrial effort; and from it we gathered the deep impression that there was lack of comprehension of the manufacturers' problems on the part of official Washington. . . .

"In one instance, for example, a contract had been placed for frames of motor trucks, a comparatively simple article to manufacture. The order was given, the contract made, for 2,500 of them. The manufacturer went home and started work on them. His plant was equipped for it. Within the following six weeks 36 changes were made, by telegraph or mail, in the specifications of so simple a thing as the frame of a motor truck and the manufacturer as I remember testified that those changes in specifications set him back at least those six weeks and cost the concern $100,000.

"Then we had before us some of the exceedingly able civilians who were summoned to Washington just before or soon after our entrance into the war and who have devoted their time and efforts in helping the Government. These men have lived close to the problem for many months; they have watched the working of the machinery at close range; they are thoroughly informed upon the situation; and they have told us about it not only in open session, but in executive session. Each and every one of

them has pointed out and explained the defects which the members of the committee had begun to suspect before they appeared before us. Each of them has suggested one or more remedies, one or more improvements, and all their suggestions are in the same direction, to-wit, the proper centralization of authority—an authority established preferably by statute, an authority whose decisions may be promptly reached and accepted as final. . . .

"Now, let us analyze, if we can, some of the things that have happened in this country as the result of the lack of centralized planning power and the lack of a business organization. The purchasing bureaus of the Army—Ordnance, Quartermaster, Engineers, Signal Corps, and Coast Artillery—have gone out into the market and placed orders for large quantities of material. I am speaking now of things as they have occurred during the last 10 months, and really we ought to call it 12 months, because we started placing orders in February or March, 1917. The Navy Department has done the same. The commission having charge, informally, of the allies' purchases has done likewise. The Food Administration has purchased great quantities of food for shipment overseas. The Aircraft Board has pur-

chased and shipped a large amount of finished and semifinished material. The Shipping Board has purchased vast quantities of steel and timber. The Fuel Administration has been actively in the field, with results painfully familiar to us all. Purchasing officers of these departments and bureaus have decreed priority in shipment for these goods in thousands and thousands of instances—no one of these officials having any regard for what the other officials were doing along the same line. In the eastern part of the country it has actually occurred that the goods shipped under Government priority orders vastly exceeded in amount the goods shipped for normal purposes without such orders. On one railroad line in the eastern district, for one month, 86 per cent of all the freight carried was labeled with the Government blue-tag priority order. The railways, while they remained under private control and even since they have come under governmental control have had no means of planning in advance for this great traffic. There is no place in Washington for them to go to get the plan. Shipments have been criss-crossed across the country on Government blue-tag orders without the slightest regard for convenience or even for necessity. Each official, of course, was doing his best, but necessarily was running blind.

An eastern railway, for example, which taps the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, has been ordered to ship a carload of anthracite coal under Government priority order to an Indian agency in Wyoming, regardless of the fact that Wyoming has its own coal fields. Pine lumber has been ordered shipped from Tonawanda, in western New York, on the banks of the Niagara River, to the Carolinas, the home of the pine tree. These are but examples, and one could multiply them almost indefinitely. Mind you, I am not attacking the individuals who did these things; in most cases they could not help it; they had no plan to go by, and they have no plan to go by this very day.

"What has been the result? A hopeless jam and congestion of our railway facilities. Something has been said about the tonnage now piled up at our Atlantic coast docks. The Senator from Nebraska (Mr. Hitchcock) stated that 2,000,000 tons were thus piled up. The testimony that has come to me through most authoritative channels is that, of the aggregate tonnage mentioned by the Senator, 1,300,000 tons belong to France and Italy alone. Every Senator on this floor knows how France and Italy want that material; every Senator on this floor knows the conditions, particularly in Italy.

Some of these supplies have been on those docks for over six months; some of them are deteriorating, and it would not be surprising if some of that material was actually out of date by this time. The channel of supply for Italy has been blocked to that extent and she cannot fight without supplies. Why is the channel blocked? Because no one planned to keep it open. There is nobody here in Washington, as I see it, charged with the duty and authority to plan. That is the kind of thing that has come to the Military Affairs Committee in testimony in open session and in executive session. . . .

"Thousands of railroad cars are being used for storage purposes; they cannot be handled; they are indefinitely withdrawn from the transportation systems of the country. Is any one man or any one department of the Government to blame? Not at all. The blame rests with our failure to systematize the effort. We have manufactured and shipped millions of tons of goods to the seaboard, helter-skelter, pell-mell, with little or no thought as to how we could find the dockage or the ships to transport them across the ocean. Is it strange that the railway transportation system has broken down? The use of the expression 'break-down' has been criticised, but I leave it to the frank judgment of

the Senate if the transportation system of the United States has not broken down."

At the outset of the war, there was great confusion in the Government departments, with much overlapping of authority, no coordination, no centralized direction, and the Senate Committee on Military Affairs was much disturbed by the outlook, particularly for the munitions program. The state of affairs was such that the Committee—Democrats and Republicans alike—proposed legislation to make provision for a director of munitions, to be appointed by the President, with power to co-ordinate all the industrial activities of the United States affecting the conduct of the war. This proposal was modeled somewhat on the British plan under which Mr. Lloyd George had become director of munitions. President Wilson had let it be known in the early part of 1918 that he would not tolerate such legislation as he regarded it as an attempt to interfere with his prerogatives as commander-in-chief. Perhaps the proposal was theoretically open to criticism from that standpoint, but Chamberlain, Wadsworth and others felt that it was only by such a measure that they could inspire the administration to coordinate the mechanism of production and place

some capable man at the head of it. The controversy which ensued between Senator Chamberlain and the committee on one side and President Wilson on the other, was ended when the President made an executive order appointing Bernard M. Baruch chairman of a War Industries Board with the powers which the Senate Committee on Military Affairs had proposed to give to a director of munitions. The Committee, its purpose accomplished, withdrew its bill. Furthermore, Herbert C. Hoover was put at the head of a food administration and fuel control was established under Dr. Harry A. Garfield.

In October, 1917, Italy sustained the disaster at Caporetto from which she later recovered at Vittorio Veneto. In November, 1917, the Bolshevist revolution took place, and in March, 1918, at Brest-Litovsk, Russia collapsed and accepted a peace "made in Germany." In March, 1918, the great German offensive opened in France, and General Foch was made Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies. Shortly thereafter, American soldiers were landing in France at the rate of three hundred thousand a month, and July, 1918, was signalized by the second battle of the Marne in which seven American divisions took part. In September, 1918, General Pershing took the St. Mihiel salient. In Septem-

ber and October, the Americans cut their way through the Argonne Forest; and in November, the American guns commanded the four track railway by which the Germans had expected, in case of need, to make their retreat. The enemy had no choice, but to capitulate or to be destroyed. The Armistice followed on November 11, 1918.

It was in the autumn of 1918 that President Wilson issued his extraordinary appeal to the American people to send none but Democrats to the House of Representatives. It should be remembered that during the period of the war, the Republican minority, with scarcely an exception, voted for every war measure asked for by the President, and if there was any hesitancy in the Senate, it was on the Democratic side. President Wilson had far more opposition from his own party than from the Republicans in the matter of war-time legislation. Thus the selective draft law was opposed in the House of Representatives by Speaker Champ Clark, by the Democratic leader on the floor, and by the Democratic Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs. It was Congressman Kahn of the Republican minority who took charge of the bill on the floor of the House, and saw to its passage. Mr. Wilson's appeal, therefore shocked many minds.

The elections returned a Republican majority in both House and Senate.

Immediately after the 1918 election, Wadsworth took a steamer for Liverpool and while in mid-ocean learned of the Armistice. The Senator felt he could make no better use of the interval between election day and the Christmas holidays, than to inform himself of the condition and needs of the A. E. F. He went over to France, visited the 27th Division at Thanksgiving, thereby fulfilling his promise, and spent six weeks going all over the war zone. General Headquarters from time to time detailed officers to accompany him and enable him to make his observations more fruitful. Wadsworth saw what the American Army had accomplished from the coast clear up into the Argonne, and noted with interest the effect on the course of events in France of preparations made in America. In the first six or seven months, General Pershing was badly handicapped on account of the confusion at home, and had to fill in the gaps by procuring supplies from the French and British and piecing them together. By February, 1918, there was better coordination and during the last three or four months of the war, the American Army was a machine of immense and ever-growing power. The installations for the handling

of supplies and men at the ports, inland at the intermediate stations, and at the principal army bases, were striking in their efficiency and in their immensity. Senator Wadsworth was happy to compare notes with General Pershing, a man of intellectual as well as physical courage, possessed of a broad grasp of every phase of the Army—its organization, development, supplies, movement, tactical training and strategic plans.

The Senator went into Germany with some of the advancing troops as far as they had then gone. He was abroad at the time when all the machinery of transportation had to be reversed, for until November 11, 1918, the whole strain had been to send men and supplies to France from America. At General Harbord's headquarters, Wadsworth saw the machinery being perfected for the return of the A. E. F., which work was carried out with consummate ability.

Returning to America, Wadsworth resumed his duties at Washington. Congress adjourning March 4, 1919, President Wilson called an extraordinary session to meet on May 19, 1919. Owing to changes in personnel as the result of the 1918 elections, and also to the decision of Senator Warren to accept the Chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee,

Wadsworth became the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in succession to Senator Chamberlain, now the ranking minority member: the change made no difference between them.

The Committee was insistent upon economy. For the fiscal year 1919–1920, the Wilson administration requested appropriations amounting to $1,300,000,000 for the War Department alone. That estimate was cut by $400,000,000. For the fiscal year 1920–1921, the Wilson administration requested $1,000,000,000 for the War Department. Largely through the Committee's work, that estimate was reduced by $600,000,000. Thus in two years the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, cooperating with the House Committee, saved the taxpayers $1,000,000,000.

The war had taught the people a lesson. The Committee translated that lesson into immediate action and accordingly authorized Wadsworth to name a sub-committee of five, of which he was Chairman, to re-draft the National Defense Act. With Senators New and Frelinghuysen, Republicans, and Chamberlain and Thomas, Democrats, Wadsworth devoted a good part of the summer and autumn of 1919 and the winter of 1919–1920 to this work. Extended hearings were held, and everyone

was heard who could contribute anything to the framing of a correct and well rounded military policy. It was the object of the sub-committee to explore the whole field; first, to get the psychology of the American soldier and of the American people in relation to the maintenance of an Army; and, second, to devise an Army machine sound from the military standpoint, and at the same time appealing to public support. Senator Wadsworth and his associates had conferences with soldiers, college presidents, educators, former governors of states, citizens generally. Great assistance was received from General John J. Pershing, and from Major Generals Leonard Wood, Charles P. Summerall and John F. O'Ryan. The War Department detailed Colonel John McC. Palmer, an able scholar as well as a distinguished soldier, to assist the Committee, for, as a witness, he had made such an impression that the Committee desired to have his aid. The differences between the House bill and the Senate bill were adjusted by the conference committee, Senator Wadsworth acting as chairman.

As passed, the measure is known as the National Defense Act of June 6, 1920, and embodies for the first time in our history, a definite military policy, insuring the organization necessary for our defense

in the event of war. Establishing a nationwide tactical organization, the Act provided for a regular army of some 280,000 men and 17,700 officers (later reduced) which, besides serving with the National Guard as the first line of defense, will furnish the personnel necessary for the training of the National Guard, the organized reserves, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps and the youths in the Civilians' Military Training Camps. Thus no future war will find organization lacking whether for home defense or for an expeditionary force.

Wadsworth served as Chairman of a Joint Committee of the Congress, formed for the purpose of revising the pay schedules of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Public Health Service and the Coast and Geodetic Survey. This task involved an exhaustive examination into the morale, living expenses and domestic conditions of the officers and enlisted men, from highest to lowest, in all these services. As a result of many weeks of investigation, a new schedule of pay for these services was adopted and became known as the Joint Pay Act of 1922.

In order to reinforce and supplement the national defense, he has twice introduced and passed through the Senate a bill establishing a Bureau of Civil

Aeronautics in the Department of Commerce to be charged with the examining and licensing of civilian aviators, the inspection and licensing of airplanes used in commerce, the mapping and marking of air routes and the establishment of aviation fields near the great centers of population. Legislation for this purpose was finally passed by the Congress at the last session.

During the session just closed, as Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, Wadsworth bore an important part in framing and passing legislation to improve the morale and increase the efficiency of the Army Air Service. Among other things, this measure, as passed and signed by President Coolidge, lays down a definite program and policy with respect to the development and maintenance of the Air Corps, and places the general supervision of Army aviation under the jurisdiction of an Assistant Secretary of War to which position President Coolidge has appointed F. Trubee Davison, of New York.

It is said of Senator Wadsworth that he has four children and the eldest is the Army. All his years of unobtrusive service in the cause of patriotism found culmination in the National Defense Act of 1920, an outstanding achievement in his career.

CHAPTER VIII

One of the great issues that arose out of the making of peace was the question whether the United States should enter into the League of Nations, and if so, upon what guarantees or reservations. The question was not at any time whether the United States should cooperate in the cause of international peace. The question was specific and related to the actual terms of the League of Nations conceived and brought into being by President Wilson at the Peace Conference and embodied in the Treaty of Versailles.

As early as January 8, 1918, addressing Congress before victory was in sight, President Wilson outlined as the foundations of a permanent peace, his "fourteen points," the last of which was as follows:

"A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

On December 4, 1918, President Wilson left for Europe as the head of the American delegation which included the Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, Honorable Henry White, former Ambassador to France, Colonel Edward M. House, and General Tasker H. Bliss. Senator Wadsworth was in Paris when President Wilson arrived there, and, having an inkling that the project of a league of nations was to be incorporated into the Peace Treaty, took occasion to ask a member of the American Commission just what the proposal was. To his great surprise that member stated that he did not know what it was to be, as the President had never mentioned it to him. The Peace Conference opened on January 18, 1919. In February, the President made a hurried trip back to Washington. On February 26, 1919, he gave a dinner to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. Mr. Wilson disclosed the fact that he had taken a plan for a constitution of the League of Nations, prepared by a British committee headed by Lord Phillimore, and had re-drafted it, making it more definite and incorporating certain suggestions of General Smuts. Following such informal discussion with the President, Senators Knox and Lodge addressed the Senate in opposition to

the proposed League of Nations and urged that the League and the Peace Treaty should not be yoked together. President Wilson declared that the League and the Treaty were inextricably interwoven. On March 3, 1919, most of the Republican Senators, including Wadsworth, united in the following declaration:

"WHEREAS under the Constitution it is a function of the Senate to advise and consent to, or dissent from, the ratification of any treaty of the United States, and no such treaty can become operative without the consent of the Senate expressed by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the Senators present; and

"WHEREAS, owing to the victory of the arms of the United States and of the nations with whom it is associated, a peace conference was convened and is now in session at Paris for the purpose of settling the terms of peace; and

"WHEREAS, a committee of the conference has proposed a constitution for a league of nations and the proposal is now before the peace conference for its consideration: Now therefore, be it

"RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE DISCHARGE OF ITS CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY

OF ADVICE IN REGARD TO TREATIES, That it is the sense of the Senate that while it is their sincere desire that the nations of the world should unite to promote peace and general disarmament, the constitution of the league of nations in the form now proposed to the peace conference should not be accepted by the United States; and be it

"RESOLVED FURTHER, That it is the sense of the Senate that the negotiations on the part of the United States should immediately be directed to the utmost expedition of the urgent business of negotiating peace terms with Germany satisfactory to the United States and the nations with whom the United States is associated in the war against the German Government, and that the proposal for a league of nations to insure the permanent peace of the world should be then taken up for careful and serious consideration.

"The undersigned Senators of the United States, Members and Members elect of the Sixty-sixth Congress, hereby declare that, if they had had the opportunity, they would have voted for the foregoing resolution."

As more than one-third of the Senate—thirty-nine Senators and Senators elect—concurred in that decla-

ration, and the ratification of a treaty requires a two-thirds vote, it was apparent that President Wilson's program was foredoomed to defeat. He did not, however, deviate to the right hand or to the left from the course he had chosen. On June 28, 1919, the Versailles Treaty was signed and the following day the President took ship for home. The treaty was laid before the Senate on July 10, and, on August 19, 1919, he had a three-hour conference with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

The constitution or covenant of the League of Nations created, first, an Assembly composed of the representatives of the signatory nations, including five British colonies, second, a Council to be composed of the representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan as permanent members, and the representatives of four non-permanent members to be selected by the Assembly from time to time, pending which selection Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain should serve, third, a permanent Secretariat to carry on the administrative work of the League. The covenant made provision looking to a concert of action for the reduction of armaments, involved reciprocal guarantees of the territorial integrity and political independence of the members, declared any war or

threatened war a matter of concern to the League and permitted any member to bring to its attention any circumstance affecting the good understanding between nations. It provided for the arbitration of justiciable matters and for inquiry by the Council into disputes not submitted to arbitration and established a permanent court of international justice to determine disputes submitted and to render advisory opinions upon questions referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly. It provided that if any member should resort to war in violation of the provisions for the postponement of war, for arbitration and for inquiry, its action should be deemed an act of war against the members which should thereupon boycott the covenant-breaking state and consider what military measures should be taken. The covenant further provided that non-members might be invited to accept the obligations of membership for the purposes of a particular controversy. Every treaty thereafter entered into by a member was to be registered with the Secretariat and was not to be binding until so registered. The Assembly was permitted to advise the revision of former treaties and obligations inconsistent with the covenant were abrogated by it, but nothing in it was to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties

of arbitration or regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace. Furthermore, the covenant set up a system of mandates intended for the former German colonies and for territories severed from the Ottoman Empire as the result of the war, and also made provision for the international consideration of labor conditions, supervision by the League of the trade in arms and agreements for the suppression of the white slave traffic, the trade in opium, drugs, etc. Under the covenant, any member of the League could, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under the covenant should have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal. Amendments to the covenant required ratification by all the members of the Council and by a majority of the members of the League. No amendment was to bind any member of the League which should signify its dissent, but such dissenting nation should cease to be a member of the League.

From July 31 to September 12, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate held hearings upon the Versailles Treaty and concluded by reporting the treaty with amendments and reservations. Ex-

tended debate followed in the Senate and President Wilson went upon a speaking tour which terminated abruptly with his physical break-down.

Both sides were conducting a campaign of education. The first impressions of the public, ready to welcome whatever came in the name of peace, were favorable to the covenant of the League of Nations. The covenant was read at first as a declaration of principles rather than as a legal document importing legal obligations, and it was only on second thought that the reading public considered closely the effect of the numerous clauses of the covenant and the possible consequences of our adhesion to the League. The fact that England, France and Italy, our recent associates in the World War, gladly accepted the League of Nations covenant led many to deem it our part to do the same, without considering that the French, British and Italian Governments were already committed by considerations of their own advantage to a much more active and even belligerent part in the clashes of rival interests in Europe and the Near East than we should deem proper for ourselves as a nation of another hemisphere. As time went by, as the interest of the public was more fully aroused and more pointedly directed by the debate in the Senate to the specific clauses of the

League covenant, the Republican Senators received an increasing measure of popular support which reached its culmination in the election of Senator Harding as President of the United States.

It was thought best for the Republican Senators to present interpretative reservations rather than amendments of the treaty, in order to avoid the necessity of resubmitting the treaty to other powers, particularly Germany. Fourteen reservations, commonly known as the Lodge reservations, were proposed, and of these Senator Wadsworth was the author of the 11th and 12th, originally numbered 12 and 13, when the preamble was numbered 1. Considered as a whole, the reservations provided that in case of its withdrawal from the League of Nations, the United States was to be the sole judge as to the fulfillment of its obligations thereunder; that the United States assumed no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to employ its military or naval forces unless Congress should in the particular case so provide; that no mandate should be accepted by the United States except by Act of Congress; that the United States reserved to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declared all

domestic and political questions relating to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, tariff, commerce, and the suppression of the traffic in women and children and in opium and other dangerous drugs to be solely within its jurisdiction, and not to be submitted under the treaty to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations; that the United States should be the sole interpreter of the Monroe Doctrine and would not submit any question affected thereby to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations; that the United States withheld its assent to the disposition of Shantung and reserved full liberty of action with respect to any controversy between China and Japan in that regard; that the appointment of representatives of the United States in the Assembly and the Council or upon any commission, committee or tribunal, etc., should be made as Congress might by law provide, and that no appointments should be effective except with the approval of the Senate; that the Reparation Commission should not regulate exports from the United States to Germany or imports from Germany into the United States except as Congress might authorize; that the United States should not be obligated

to contribute to the expenses of the League of Nations; that if the United States should adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments, proposed by the Council of the League, the United States nevertheless reserved the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the Council whenever the United States might be threatened with invasion or engaged in war; that the United States reserved the right to permit commercial, financial and personal relations between nationals of "a covenant-breaking state" and citizens of the United States; that nothing in the Treaty of Peace should be taken to confirm or ratify any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States; that the United States declined to accept any interest in or responsibility for the former German colonies, and finally that the United States reserved to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions affect its honor or its vital interests, and deemed them no subject of arbitration or inquiry by the League of Nations.

Much of the discussion over the League covenant centered about Article X which read as follows:

"The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the ter-

ritorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

On this subject Senator Wadsworth said in a speech in the Senate September 19, 1919:

"There have been a good many explanations of that article. There have been a great many efforts to assure people that it does not mean what it says; and I do not suppose that there has ever occurred, in a discussion of two sentences, so much quibbling and squirming and ducking as in connection with the two sentences of Article X. To my mind the President has settled it, and settled it right, as to its meaning. He said it constitutes a binding moral obligation. All the play in and around the meaning of the word 'advise' amounts to nothing. The important thing is the first part of the first sentence which reads:

"The members of the League 'undertake to respect and preserve !' the territorial integrity, and so forth.

"And the important word in the second sentence is the word 'obligation.' Taking the two together,

we are under an obligation, if we sign that contract, to respect and preserve the boundaries of all the members of the League.

"I cannot conceive that there is any other way by which we can approach the interpretation of that article. I do not believe the United States can afford to indulge in any mental reservations on this question. I do not believe we can afford to go into a contract of this sort, and subscribe to it just as it is written, unless we are fully determined to live up to it in spirit as well as in letter. The article describes this undertaking as an obligation; and if we are honest men, and if we are an honest Nation, we must carry out our obligation. It will not do to say that in the event of the executive council advising us to contribute so many troops or so many dollars for the suppression of a conflict somewhere upon the earth, we are left at liberty to decide whether we will contribute those troops or those dollars, for the instant you revise downward the suggestion of the executive council you are deserting the obligation; and if it shall be conceded that under such an obligation we have the moral right to revise those estimates downward, then every nation will claim the same right, and article X will mean nothing. There will be no contribution worthy

of the name toward the preservation of the political independence and territorial integrity of the State that is attacked."

With much practical insight Senator Wadsworth saw a phase of the subject commonly overlooked, i.e., the disruptive and denationalizing effect which our participation in European controversies might have upon a population of such varied origin as ours. In the same speech he further said:

"I can not pose as a student of history to the extent which would justify me in attempting to read the thoughts of George Washington, but I do think I know enough about the history of this country and his utterances and the atmosphere in which he lived to warrant the belief that Washington looked toward the future when he made his Farewell Address and saw coming to the shores of America all these different groups, and that the thing which concerned him most of all, and which concerned his contemporaries, Jefferson among them, was the prospect that these great groups of people coming to the United States would find themselves unable to weld themselves together into one American people. He knew they could not be welded together in one great American

people unless they exercised unceasing vigilance against the injection of European politics into American domestic politics. The country from his day to this day has managed to assimilate this tremendous tide of immigration, because as fast as these people have reached our shores and have started in to earn their living, they have found an atmosphere removed completely and entirely from the intrigues and the turmoils of the countries from which they came. The result has been that the Greeks and the Bulgarians have lived here side by side in peace; the Englishman and the Irishman have lived here side by side in peace, as have the German and the Frenchman, the Austrian and the Hungarian, the Pole and the Russian, not forgetting the affection which they naturally owe to their mother countries, but conscious of the fact that they have reached a country where they are free from those prejudices, intrigues, and turmoils, and where men, no matter what their national or racial origin, can start out endowed with the opportunity of working out their own salvation as American citizens and American citizens first. So they have forgotten the politics, the intrigues, and the frictions of the Old World; and by reason of their being able to forget them this American people is a united people

to-day. I think Washington saw that; I think Washington hoped and prayed that we would maintain that atmosphere here in the United States and would keep our politics free from European issues.

"Some may not consider this an important side of the discussion now going on, but with those who are disposed to pass it by casually I cannot agree. Already we see the effects in this country of the proposals contained in the covenant of the league and the treaty; already we see the effects of the partial participation in which this Government of ours has indulged in European frictions and disputes. Some examples of it have come to my personal attention, and it was these incidents which opened my eyes for the first time to the importance of the situation.

"Senators will remember that the President of the United States, while he was in Paris, issued a public statement to the Italian people, addressed to them over the heads of the Italian Government, in which he declared it as his opinion—and necessarily his opinion was deemed to represent the opinion of the Government of the United States, he being the head of the Government—that the city of Fiume should be awarded to Jugo-Slavia and not to Italy. Within eight days of the publication of the Presi-

dent's statement in Paris on that question my mail was filled with letters and petitions and circulars from Italian-born citizens of the United States urging me, as a member of the Senate, to use what influence I had—as a Member of the Congress to see that the Government of the United States took sides with Italy as against Jugo-Slavia. In other words, European politics appeared in American politics. It was entirely natural that these Italian-born American citizens should have addressed me in that way; it was the most natural thing in the world; but it was the first clear sign coming to my attention of what this internationalism may mean in America."

The 11th and 12th reservations which Senator Wadsworth originated and framed were as follows:

"11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI of the covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than that violating said Article XVI, to continue their commercial, financial and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

"12. Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States."

The 11th reservation was accepted by the majority of the Senate on March 8, 1920, by a vote of 44 to 28, and the 12th was adopted on the same day by a vote of 45 to 28. Referring to Article XVI of the covenant of the League of Nations, Senator Wadsworth said in his speech above mentioned:

"It is not at all certain, it seems to me, that Greece and Bulgaria will be able to live side by side at peace for any great length of time. It is entirely possible, at least, that some day, smarting under some grievance or alleged grievance, Greece might attack Bulgaria. The instant she does so she has committed an act of war against every member of the league, including the United States, and under article XVI the nationals of the United States are forbidden to have any financial or personal intercourse with any national of Greece. . . .

"We have several hundred thousand Greek citizens in the United States. The men who wrote that article apparently forgot this situation, for I cannot believe they would knowingly have attempted to impose it upon us. . . . If their mother country, Greece, goes to war against Bulgaria, no American citizen can buy anything of a Greek in the United States. He can have no financial intercourse with him. Every little store kept by a Greek in this country must be closed. No matter what his business, great or small, it must cease, for the United States has promised the world that none of her citizens shall do any business with a Greek under those circumstances. What is to become of them? Are they to be deprived of their means of livelihood? Presumably they must all be interned somewhere and fed and clothed. . . .

"If Austria should attack Hungary some day, every Austrian in the United States would be ostracized immediately; or perhaps every Hungarian would be ostracized under Article XVI.

"Mr. President, what would we do here? Will any man contend that the people of the United States when once confronted with a practical situation of that sort, would tolerate it? I venture to say that the Federal Government that attempted by appro-

priate legislation to enforce the provisions of Article XVI in a situation of that sort would find the gravest difficulty in enforcing the law.

"I do not believe that you could get the American people, even under such a contract as this, with all the prestige of an international supergovernment back of it, to refuse to trade with the Greek delicatessen store next door; to refuse to have their shoes shined occasionally by the national of some country that has, it is alleged, broken this covenant."

The Treaty of Versailles with the League of Nations covenant as part of it, failed of ratification on November 19, 1919, and even though coupled with the Lodge reservations, was finally rejected by the Senate on March 19, 1920. President Wilson refused to accept the fourteen reservations. Thus the strange spectacle was presented of President Wilson's supporters voting together with the "irreconcilables," i.e., those opposed to the treaty, reservations or no reservations.

Senator Harding, who had supported the Lodge reservations, became the Republican candidate for President in 1920. At the National convention, Wadsworth was Chairman of the New York delegation. The Republican national platform approved

the course that Senator Wadsworth and his associates had taken and made this declaration:

"The unfortunate insistence of the President upon having his own way, without any change and without any regard to the opinions of a majority of the Senate, which shares with him the treaty-making power, and the President's demand that the Treaty should be ratified without any modification, created a situation in which Senators were required to vote upon their consciences and their oaths according to their judgment against the Treaty as it was presented or submit to the commands of a dictator in a matter where the authority and the responsibility under the Constitution was theirs, and not his.

"The Senators performed their duty faithfully. We approve their conduct and honor their courage and fidelity."

In the autumn of 1920, Senator Wadsworth was a candidate for re-election, and Senator Reed, Democrat, of Missouri, said of him:

"Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr., withstood tremendous pressure from the reactionaries, the Anglo-maniacs and the international banking crowd

to vote for the British-Wilson League Covenant without crossing a 't' or dotting an 'i,' but he stood firm for American sovereignty and safety, and supported all the drastic Lodge reservations.

"That is why there is a tremendous fight being made to defeat Wadsworth. Have you noticed that everything except his anti-League stand is urged as a reason for retiring him? That is because the powers that want to put the League over know that Wadsworth's stand on that issue would recommend him to the people. So they attack him because he opposed Woman Suffrage and fought against the Prohibition laws. They use similar tactics against Brandegee in Connecticut, Moses in New Hampshire, Gore in Oklahoma, Thomas in Colorado. But the one crime all of these real Americans committed was to stand for America against British-League entanglements.

"To defeat Wadsworth would not merely be to 'take a chance.' It would be to put New York State on record definitely for the League of Nations. For the Democratic candidate for Senator, Harry C. Walker, speaking at the Osceola Club on October 8, declared he stands squarely for the League and if elected will vote for ratification. How does that strike you, New Yorkers?"

Commenting on this, Wadsworth said:

"I stand squarely against Mr. Wilson's League of Nations. The covenant sacrifices the independence of the United States. I shall continue to oppose it with all my strength. I shall never vote to throw away the right of the American people to choose freely between peace and war."

Notwithstanding active opposition, Wadsworth was elected by a plurality of 530,000 votes.

CHAPTER IX

Coming into power in 1921, the Republican Administration undertook to secure by immediate action the practical advantages of which the League of Nations had offered only the hope. On November 12, 1921, the same day on which President Harding formally declared peace with Germany, after negotiating a treaty securing for our country the rights acknowledged by the Versailles Treaty, the President opened the Washington Conference on limitation of armaments and on Far Eastern and Pacific questions. Secretary of State Hughes presided. From this Conference resulted several treaties. A five power treaty by fixing limitations put an end to competitive building of battleships. A five power treaty was directed against the use of gas in warfare and of submarines as commerce destroyers. A four power treaty safeguarded the insular possessions of the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan in the Pacific Ocean and terminated

the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. A nine power treaty, protecting the integrity of China and "the open door," maintained the policy of John Hay. A treaty between China and Japan recognized China's sovereignty over Shantung, and a treaty between the United States and Japan settled the status of the Island of Yap, recognizing Japanese control of mandated islands in the Pacific.

On February 24, 1923, President Harding submitted to the Senate a proposal that the United States should declare its adhesion to the Permanent Court of International Justice upon certain reservations, however, and without accepting the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained in the provisions for its organization. Discussion upon this subject proceeded from time to time and Senator Wadsworth declared himself in favor of a world court but one entirely separated from the League of Nations. As a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, he devoted a great deal of time to the consideration of the question by what reservations the Government of the United States might best secure the double purpose of furthering international arbitration and of safeguarding itself from the objections urged against the League of Nations. He personally preferred the plan of Sen-

ator Pepper to amend the statute creating the Court so as to remove the election of the judges from the jurisdiction of the League of Nations as a body and to confine that function to the governments giving their adherence to the Court. Eventually, a majority of the Senate agreed upon a series of reservations much stronger in the interests of the United States than the original Harding-Hughes reservations and incorporated them in the resolution adopted January 26, 1926, by a vote of 76 to 17, Wadsworth voting in the affirmative. They read as follows:

"Whereas the President, under date of February 24, 1923, transmitted a message to the Senate, accompanied by a letter from the Secretary of State, dated February 17, 1923, asking the favorable advice and consent of the Senate to the adherence on the part of the United States to the protocol of December 16, 1920, of signature of the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice, set out in the said message of the President (without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained therein), upon the conditions and understandings hereafter stated, to be made a part of the instrument of adherence: Therefore be it

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring), That the Senate advise and consent to the adherence on the part of the United States to the said protocol of December 16, 1920, and the adjoined statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice (without accepting or agreeing to the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction contained in said statute), and that the signature of the United States be affixed to the said protocol, subject to the following reservations and understandings which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution, namely:

1. That such adherence shall not be taken to involve any legal relation on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the Treaty of Versailles.

2. That the United States shall be permitted to participate, through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other states, members, respectively, of the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations, in any and all proceedings of either the council or the assembly for the election of judges or deputy judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice or for the filling of vacancies.

3. That the United States will pay a fair share of the expenses of the court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

4. That the United States may at any time withdraw its adherence to the said protocol and that the statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice adjoined to the protocol shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

5. That the court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all states adhering to the court and to all interested states and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any state concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest.

The signature of the United States to the said protocol shall not be affixed until the powers signatory to such protocol shall have indicated, through an exchange of notes, their acceptance of the foregoing reservations and understandings as a part and a condition of adherence by the United States to the said protocol.

Resolved further, as a part of this act of ratifica-

tion that the United States approve the protocol and statute hereinabove mentioned, with the understanding that recourse to the Permanent Court of International Justice for the settlement of differences between the United States and any other state or states can be had only by agreement thereto through general or special treaties concluded between the parties in dispute; and

Resolved further, That adherence to the said protocol and statute hereby approved shall not be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall adherence to the said protocol and statute be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

Our adhesion to the World Court is thus conditioned upon the reservations. Should the nations signatory to the protocol fail to accept our reservations, each and all, Senator Wadsworth has announced his opposition to our adhesion upon any terms materially variant.

The Colombian treaty by which the United States

was to pay Colombia $25,000,000, besides granting special privileges in the use of the Panama Canal, came up in 1921. On this question Senator Wadsworth took a position opposed to the administration. It was not he, but the national administration that deviated from the well-beaten path of Republican policy. The treaty had been negotiated in President Wilson's administration when its ratification was blocked by Republican opposition based both on principle and on regard for the memory of Theodore Roosevelt. As a matter of policy merely, President Harding favored the treaty which was consequently ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

Wadsworth declared that he was not sufficiently nimble-footed to change his position and in the course of debate he stated:

"I do not intend to discuss . . . the incidents that occurred in 1903. At that time I was very familiar with them. I learned of them from the lips of a man [Secretary of State Hay] who bore an important part in them. Having learned of the facts from him, I have been firmly convinced all these years that the Government of the United States bore its part in that incident in an absolutely honest, straightforward and unassailable manner;

and I have seen no evidence submitted since that time, and especially have I seen no evidence submitted in this debate, which would lead me to change my opinion as to what the American Government did, and why it did it, back in 1903.

"There can be no excuse whatsoever for the payment of the money unless we have done Colombia a grievous injury. It is futile to talk about assuaging people's feelings when their feelings were self-hurt."

Wadsworth as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, took an active part in securing the ratification of the commercial treaty with Germany in 1924.

At the close of the 68th Congress Senator Wadsworth gave up his place on the Committee on Foreign Relations and at his own request was transferred to the Committee on Finance in view of the impending revision of the Federal Tax Laws. Contributing, as they do, more than 25% of all the monies collected by Federal taxation, the people of the State of New York were vitally interested and Wadsworth took an active part in drafting the recent Internal Revenue Act which has resulted in marked benefit to the whole country.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Finance, he has taken part in the consideration of the agreements for funding the debts due from foreign nations to the United States. It is, of course, desirable that the burden of the American taxpayer should be eased by repayment of the loans made to the powers associated with us in the World War. At the same time it is unwise to require installments beyond the debtor's capacity to pay. Having regard for all the considerations affecting the subject, the British Debt Funding Act, ratified in 1923, provided for repayment of our loans to Great Britain by increasing annual installments through a sixty-two year period with interest at 3% upon the first few payments and at 3½% thereafter. More favorable terms have been granted to Italy, whose capacity to make payment is not, of course, equal to that of Great Britain. Believing the terms of settlement negotiated by the American Foreign Debt Commission to be sound in principle and advantageous to the American people, Wadsworth has supported the funding agreements arranged with Great Britain, with Italy, with Belgium, with Poland and other European states.

The World War cut down our imports from the belligerent countries and at the same time stimu-

lated our production of munitions and supplies for them, thereby rendering nugatory the low tariff rates of the Underwood Tariff and promoting high prices in the United States. Our entry into the World War, though imposing heavy burdens upon the American people, necessarily enhanced the demand for many products and by drawing off so many men into military service, kept wages at a high peak.

As an economic consequence inevitably ensuing when the artificial stimulus of war was removed, there came a period of deflation, particularly marked in 1921. The collapse of European currencies was hard enough upon the European wage-earner, whose wages could not rise as rapidly as the purchasing power of money fell, but was still harder upon European investors and persons with fixed incomes who had no offset to the dwindling value of their money. The result, however, was not without distinct, if transient, advantages for the European manufacturer. If his raw material was of domestic origin, a manufacturer in a country with an unstabilized currency would contract for materials at prices expressed in terms of that currency and would make payment when it had still further depreciated. Wages were reckoned in the same depreciated paper. But when selling in the United States, the manufac-

turer would receive payment in dollars and could well afford to undersell the American manufacturer. Hence the need of a protective tariff to equalize domestic and foreign production costs became more than ever apparent. It is true that trade involves mutuality and that some of the goods we import are not such as our country produces, but, as Abraham Lincoln said long since, when we buy from the foreigner we get the goods and he gets the money, but when we buy among ourselves we get both the goods and the money.

President Harding, on March 27, 1921, approved the Emergency Tariff to protect our agricultural products and to provide against the dumping of goods upon our market at lower prices than abroad. The Fordney-McCumber Act of September 21, 1922, adjusted duties on imports in such fashion that the duty should equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad and further authorized the President to increase or decrease the rates within a maximum of fifty per cent of the rates specified. This flexible tariff provision was adopted so as to enable the United States to keep its tariff rates up-to-date in the matter of meeting changing conditions in production costs at home and abroad, and thus, for the first time in the history of tariff making, es-

tablished a definite principle and sought to apply scientific methods in carrying it out.

On the subject of the tariff, the National Republican Platform of 1924 made a declaration which the experience of every grown member of the community will verify:

"We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to extend needed protection to our productive industries. We believe in protection as a national policy, with due and equal regard to all sections and to agriculture, industries and occupations. It is only by adherence to such a policy that the well-being of the consumers can be safeguarded and that there can be assured to American agriculture, to American labor and to American manufacturers a return to perpetuate American standards of life. A protective tariff is designed to support the high American economic level of life for the average family and to prevent a lowering to the levels of economic life prevailing in other lands.

"It is the history of the nation that the protective tariff system has ever justified itself by restoring confidence, promoting industrial activity and employment, enormously increasing our purchasing power and bringing increased prosperity to all our people.

"The tariff protection to our industry works for increased consumption of domestic agricultural products by an employed population instead of one unable to purchase the necessities of life. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad and with lower standards of living.

"The enormous value of the protective principle has once more been demonstrated by the emergency tariff act of 1921 and the tariff act of 1922.

"We assert our belief in the elastic provision adopted by Congress in the tariff act of 1922 providing for a method of readjusting the tariff rates and the classifications in order to meet changing economic conditions when such changed conditions are brought to the attention of the President by complaint or application.

"We believe that the power to increase or decrease any rate of duty provided in the tariff furnishes a safeguard, on the one hand, against excessive taxes, and, on the other hand, against too high customs charges.

"The wise provisions of this section of the tariff act afford ample opportunity for tariff duties to be adjusted after a hearing in order that they may

cover the actual differences in the cost of production in the United States and the principal competing countries of the world.

"We also believe that the application of this provision of the tariff act will contribute to business stability by making unnecessary general disturbances which are usually incident to general tariff revision."

In the 1924 National Convention, Wadsworth was again the chairman of the New York delegation. Calvin Coolidge who had become President by succession upon the death of President Harding on August 2, 1923, was nominated for the Presidency. The Democratic candidates were John W. Davis, for President, and Governor Bryan of Nebraska for Vice-President. The national election gave President Coolidge a popular vote of 15,729,060, Mr. Davis 8,391,431 and Senator La Follette, running on a third ticket, 4,820,758. President Coolidge received 382 electoral votes from thirty-five States, Mr. Davis 136 votes from twelve States, all in the South, and Senator La Follette 13 votes from his own State, Wisconsin.

In 1924, Wadsworth was made Chairman of the Republican Steering Committee of the Senate, com-

posed of seven Senators selected by their party associates to recommend, on the part of the majority, the order of business. Their recommendations are made from time to time, usually by letter addressed to every Republican Senator and are also given to the press. The function of suggesting what bill shall be next acted upon is a laborious responsibility and, toward the end of a Congressional session, correspondence comes to the Chairman from all over the United States, demanding that the Committee place this or that particular measure preferentially before the Senate. In general, the majority follow the suggestions of the Steering Committee and the minority Senators commonly acquiesce. Occasionally, the Senate votes to take up some bill out of the order suggested and not infrequently the Steering Committee has to change its program to meet exigencies. The Steering Committees of the Senate and of the House occasionally meet to frame a joint program.

As chairman of this Committee, Wadsworth has to be familiar with the details of important pending bills, and estimate how much debate each bill will arouse, what opposition will be raised to it, how long it will take the Senate to dispose of it. The Committee polls the Senate informally to get an

estimate of the number of supporters and the number of opponents and the degree of their opposition. The majority leader is, of course, consulted and, though not a member of the Steering Committee, habitually attends its meetings upon its invitation.

On three occasions Wadsworth has been a member of the Republican Committee on Committees, i.e., a committee selected by the Republican conference or caucus and charged with the duty of determining the personnel of the standing committees so far as Republican representation is concerned. The work of this committee is done in about a week's time at the beginning of a new session, when new Senators have come in and old Senators have gone out.

It can be seen that Wadsworth's functions in the Senate Committees involve constant cooperation with the President and the leaders of the Congress. How cordial and successful that cooperation has been President Coolidge bore witness when addressing the National Republican Club:

"I rejoice with you in the possession of such a Senator as James W. Wadsworth, Jr. He represents you with a capacity that is unexcelled in the Senate of the United States."

Photo by International News Reel Corporation

A MORNING HIKE WITH SPEAKER NICHOLAS LONGWORTH IN ROCK CREEK PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHAPTER X

Wadsworth—the farmer—like his ancestors has no other business than farming. He has followed the family precepts in the matter of farm management. Once an investment was made in land, it was their principle not to let that investment be dissipated by deterioration of the soil itself. They were, therefore, insistent upon keeping live stock and upon feeding to the live stock all the rough fodder raised on the farm. They never sold any hay, straw, cornstalks, or any other rough fodder but kept enough live stock to consume all they raised. Grain, of course, they sold, and beef cattle, lambs, and wool. His family early adopted a system of bookkeeping, setting out completely from month to month, from year to year, the condition of the business so that at a glance they could tell at any time how the business stood. The family have always run their farms on an accounting basis, making regular book entries. The books in his father's possession, going back a great many years, show

throughout a constant income which has maintained the family. These two principles, the maintenance of the fertility of the soil through raising live stock, and the maintenance of an accurate system of bookkeeping, have become traditional with the Wadsworths. There would be few abandoned farms if these principles found general application.

Having a practical knowledge of farming, and having been for six years a member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Wadsworth speaks of the subject with authority.

The Republican Party has always recognized its duty to impose such tariff rates as to maintain our high standard of living, and to encourage large agricultural production in the United States. The Democratic Party, on its advent to power in 1913, immediately set to work to place upon the statute books the Underwood Tariff Law with its free admission of farm products from everywhere. The War alone saved the country from being swamped by foreign importations, but immediately after the War, even in spite of Europe's depressed economic condition, the influx started, indicating what might be expected under a Democratic tariff law when Europe should resume its normal production or perhaps attain an intensive production. As Wadsworth pointed out,

we have not only European competition to consider, but the great farms of Canada which maintain large scale production and have the American market at their very door.

It must be remembered that the prosperity of the farmer increases his capacity as a consumer, and so stimulates the demand for manufactured goods. In return, the industrial workers constitute a large part of the farmers' market. As Wadsworth put it:

"With the factories working full time, paying good wages, and new factories springing up, employing additional workers, they must call for greater abundance and variety of farm products. It is only then that such products as celery and fine fruits, such as peaches, which are not strictly necessities of life, but refinements and luxuries, can find the market they need to justify their profitable production. With workers employed at good wages, they will buy such superior articles of food, and with industry at full blast we shall not see an abundance of good fruit or vegetables left to rot on the ground because there is not enough demand to pay for gathering it."

The fall in commodity prices, following the war, became so serious in the fall of 1920 as to occasion

a widespread demand for some form of special farm relief. By Act of Congress, the War Finance Corporation was enabled to make advances and to purchase drafts secured by warehouse receipts, bills of lading, etc., covering agricultural products and livestock, the aggregate of such advances and securities purchased not to exceed at any one time one billion dollars. The Agricultural Credits Act of 1923 enlarged the Federal Farm Loan Act so as to establish Federal intermediate credit banks having power to discount or purchase from banks, agricultural credit corporations, cooperative credit or marketing associations of agricultural producers, etc., commercial paper, the proceeds of which had been used in the first instance for agricultural purposes and to make loans or advances to cooperative agricultural associations, with power also to borrow money and issue trust debentures secured by notes, etc., so discounted or purchased or representing loans so made. Emergency loans were granted to drought-stricken areas and agriculture was given direct representation on the Federal Reserve Board and on the Federal Trade Commission. Freight rates were adjusted so far as practicable. Wadsworth supported this program.

The greatest measure of economic relief for the

whole people, whether engaged in agriculture or in industry, has been the reduction of the burden of taxation and this is the outstanding achievement of President Coolidge's administration. It is an accomplishment toward which Wadsworth has given all possible cooperation. To reduce taxation, it was necessary first of all to reduce expenditures and the first step toward that end was the establishment of the budget system. Toward the close of President Wilson's administration a bill providing for a budget system passed both houses of Congress and was vetoed by the President because the Director of the Budget was made irremovable by the President. By the Budget and Accounting Act, 1921, approved by President Harding, a Bureau of the Budget was created in the Treasury Department and the head of every executive department, commission, board or bureau, etc., must submit the departmental estimates to the Bureau. The Director of the Budget goes through the estimates and the business practices and customs of the departments with a fine tooth comb. The Director, acting in the name of the President, has power to demand of every department or bureau such information as he may require and reports direct to the President whose duty it becomes to transmit to Congress on the first day of

each regular session a budget setting forth in summary and in detail estimates of the expenditures and appropriations necessary for the ensuing fiscal year (except the estimates for the legislative branch of the Government and for the Supreme Court of the United States), together with estimates of the receipts of the Government for the ensuing fiscal year under existing law and under the revenue proposals, if any, contained in the budget as well as other details prescribed in the Act. The work of General Dawes and of his successor, General Lord, in the position of Director of the Budget has resulted in immense saving and in advantageous systematization of the various bureaus of the Government, particularly in respect to purchases of Government supplies.

This policy of economy of the Republican administration has made it possible, particularly in view of the large revenues derived from the tariff, to reduce the national debt by $4,667,913,668 since the Republican party was returned to power. The reduction of the debt from over twenty-four billion dollars to less than twenty billion dollars has effected a decrease of over $210,000,000 in annual interest charges and this in turn has increased the margin which permits of debt reduction on the one hand and tax reduction on the other. The agreements reached

with foreign governments for the repayment of loans made to them have contributed to improve the situation of the treasury of the United States and, as the installment payments will increase within a few years, the advantage of fixed times and terms of payment will become the more apparent. Moreover, the debt adjustments are an important factor in the stabilization of European currencies and this in turn will play a great part in the restoration of Europe's purchasing power on which the disposal of our surplus products is so largely dependent.

Wadsworth has been in intimate touch with the detailed development of these fiscal policies of the United States, has taken part in perfecting them step by step and, as chairman of one of the great committees in the Senate as well as of the Republican Steering Committee, has been a leader in upholding and carrying out the Coolidge fiscal program.

Much of the hardship experienced in recent times by agricultural communities in the West has been due to the farmers having bought too much land at too high a price in the wartime inflated price period. It is hardly possible for legislation to undo a mistake of that character. Nor is it possible to find a political remedy, after the event, for some of the other mistakes that have been made in the operation

of farms here and there. Basically sound methods are essential to prevent agricultural losses. Dependence upon a single crop is an almost sure forerunner of disaster. Long before the demand for agricultural relief by congressional action, Wadsworth said in an address in 1915:

"The American farmer has seen the danger of placing all his eggs in one basket. He no longer, to the same extent, devotes his entire acreage to the raising of one crop. He has learned to diversify and thus to insure himself against a total failure in any one season. This diversification and crop rotation commenced more than a generation ago in the agricultural regions of the East and has slowly but surely extended through most of the country of the Middle West and is now marching down into the Southern States. . . . The man in Kansas who used to devote nearly all his land to the raising of wheat and corn has planted in recent years a large acreage of alfalfa—that wonderful plant which has done more to insure against disaster than any other plant known to man—and he is also paying a good deal of attention to dairying, the poultry business and to fruit raising. The methods of cultivating the semi-arid regions have also vastly improved and as a result, on

land which ten years ago was considered useless for crop raising, there is now produced an enormous tonnage of Kaffir corn, sorghum, Milo maize and federita, plants which have been found to possess drought-resisting powers. These crops, as they are close to or within the cattle range country, together with the wonderfully useful feeds which are now obtained from cotton seed are valuable for the cattle man and are used by him as feed in enormous quantities for the purpose of tiding over the severe storms on the range in winter. Thousands upon thousands of range cows are now saved, where ten or fifteen years ago they would have perished without this feed. . . . Diversification is fast stabilizing agriculture.

"In addition to diversification and a more general use of live-stock, there is one more instrument which is rapidly coming into use and which has accomplished notable results in helping to stabilize the farming business. I refer to the silo. In the dairy sections of the East the silo has long ceased to be a novelty. Viewed at first with distrust it proved its value many years ago and over a great section of the country east of the Mississippi river it has been accepted for many years as an effective instrument for the preservation of feed. . . . To

my mind, its value lies not only in keeping fresh a certain number of tons of feed throughout the winter and thereby supplying a ration of consistent quality, but also in its ability, when properly used, to save a feed crop from entire destruction. The great western prairie country, midway between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, seems more susceptible to extreme drought and scorching winds than the country east of the river. For a corn crop to be literally scorched and destroyed in two or three days by a hot wind is not an unusual occurrence in western Kansas, in Oklahoma or north Texas. Many a time I have seen a crop destroyed in a gale of wind with the thermometer at one hundred degrees. The silo is coming to the rescue. A crop approaching maturity and threatened with destruction from drought can be quickly cut and put into the silo with its strength but very little impaired. Several times in recent years I have seen a whole crop saved by that method."

Recently there has been an effort, which the Senator has opposed, to relieve temporary distress by such legislative nostrums as the McNary-Haugen bill advanced by the so-called farm bloc. This bill proposed to establish a Federal Farm Board to

arrange with cooperative associations and others to fix the domestic price of wheat, corn, cotton and hogs at a figure amply remunerative to the producer and to export the surplus of these products at whatever price could be obtained abroad, the inevitable loss in such case to be met by a tax on the products sold by the farmer, a tax doubtless ultimately to be borne by the consumer. It is apparent that a high price fixed for the home market will tend to stimulate production without increasing domestic demand, thereby enlarging the surplus which must be disposed of abroad. The provisions for reimbursement of losses sustained by purchasers and processors of farm products, in storing them at home and dumping the surplus abroad, would impose upon the Government an indefinite liability and the intricacy of the means of ascertaining and collecting the tax or so-called equalization fee is such as would make them largely ineffectual. Furthermore, the sale of our products abroad, below cost, would be in effect a subsidy to the European consumer at the expense of the American consumer.

Wadsworth has ever insisted upon the importance of sound and scientific methods to enhance the prosperity of our agricultural population and discussing, a decade ago, the question how to combat the drain-

ing of that population into congested centers, he said:

"No sooner does one give attention to this great question than one must realize the enormous importance of the position occupied by the agricultural population and the absolute necessity for its maintenance. For history shows us that few nations have been able to survive the extinction of the men who till the soil and live their days in the open air. Not only are the masses dependent upon these men for their food and clothing, the prime necessities of life, but the Republic, if it is to survive, must rely upon them to a considerable degree to furnish a strong, unswerving balance wheel performing the function of keeping straight and true the vision of all the people. . . .

". . . The thing which gives us most concern is the tendency in some districts for the people who have been born and brought up in the country to move to the cities, a tendency, which, should it continue to grow, must give us genuine cause for alarm. I am of the opinion that the cumulative effect of the efforts being put forth for the advancement of agriculture will retard and perhaps do away with the depopulation of the country districts. There is one

phase of this question, however, upon which I think particular emphasis should be put. Most of the efforts to which I have alluded have been toward increasing the material prosperity of the farmer and standardizing his business on a firm foundation. This is the dollars and cents side of the question. People living in the country are not content simply with accumulating a savings account and paying off their mortgages. They think very deeply about the future of their children and they are intensely ambitious that these children shall receive the best obtainable education. They cannot help recognizing that the educational facilities of the cities, and by that I mean particularly what might be called the routine education, are vastly superior to the facilities of the country. When they make this comparison they no longer have that implicit faith in the old-fashioned country school. . . . Many a farmer, whose children have reached school age and many a country boy and girl anxious to develop themselves through education, tear themselves from old associations and move to the city, where they are confident they can enjoy the facilities which they desire. . . . In the natural course of events life in the country has been brightened remarkably. The improved road, the rural delivery, the almost universal use of the

telephone and the astonishing use of the automobile are some of the important factors which have helped to bring this about. But none of these facilities, valuable as they are, affect the lives of people living in the country as fundamentally as the school. The man who lives in an environment which offers but comparatively meager possibilities for the development of his mind knows instinctively that he is missing something of deep and vital importance in his life; and the yearnings of human nature in this direction are so intense that that man will inevitably seek a more favorable environment for himself and his children; and no amount of effort put forth to enable him to fill his pockets with money will drive that yearning from his soul."

As a dairy state New York is first in the Union. Its live stock is valued at nearly $200,000,000, its yearly crops at over $300,000,000.

Curiously enough Senator Wadsworth has never been invited to become a member of the "Farm Bloc" in the Senate.

CHAPTER XI

Senator Wadsworth has always had an interest in the human aspects of public affairs. This has been fostered by his varied experiences and has been manifested in his advocacy of legislation affecting the personal happiness of people. He put through Congress the amendment permitting aliens who fought in the American Army to re-enter the country irrespective of quota requirements and to extend to such aliens the privilege of bringing in their wives and children. He has also urged Congress to relieve aliens who arrived here before the strict Immigration Law went into effect and who have taken out their first papers, to the extent of permitting them to bring to this country ex quota their wives and minor children, thus reuniting the family unexpectedly and unhappily divided. On this subject we may quote a letter which Wadsworth wrote under date of January 23, 1926:

"Let me tell you of some things that have come to my attention and ask you to consider whether or

not you think such things should be allowed to continue. First, an Italian boy came to this country in 1913. He got a job and supported himself decently and respectably. He lived here continuously until 1918, in which year he was enlisted in the Army of the United States. He was assigned to an overseas division and took part in some of the most desperate battles fought by our troops in France. He came back to the United States with his regiment at the close of the war and was given an honorable discharge. He thought at the time that the fact that he had served in the Army and received an honorable discharge had had the effect of naturalizing him as a citizen. He resumed his civilian occupation after his soldiering was over, but in 1920 his aged father and mother in Italy asked him to come back to see them and help them in some matter. So he returned to Italy. There he had to remain longer than he had expected. Finally, when he felt that he could leave his parents and tried to return to the United States to resume his occupation here, he found that as the result of the passage of the new Immigration Law and as a further result of the fact that he could not show that he was an American citizen, he could not return to this country for many years to come, so small is the Italian quota. Here

was an American soldier who had taken part in the desperate assault at Montfaucon in the Argonne, trying to return to the country for which he had fought and in which he had lived for five years prior to the war. So desperate was his desire that he stowed himself away upon a steamship. He was apprehended when he reached New York and an order came down that he must be deported. In this particular case, the Department of Labor, upon learning the facts, made an exception in his favor, although the legality of that decision was very, very doubtful. My bill would permit that man and all men in similar circumstances to come back to the United States. There are not many of these veterans, but small though their number may be they are certainly entitled to such an expression of our gratitude. How do you feel about it?

"Then there is the case of the alien who had come to this country just before the war with the intention of establishing himself and sending for his wife and children. The war came along and the alien enlisted in our Army, served throughout the war and returned to the United States with his regiment. He starts his civilian work again and it takes him some time to get reestablished. Then, he wants to send for his wife and children. But in the mean-

time, the Immigration Law has been passed and he finds that his wife and children will have to await their turn under the quota before they can come here. In most instances this requires a wait of six, eight or ten years. The best thing they can do is to wait until he becomes a citizen. Under existing law a citizen can send for his wife and children and have them admitted ex quota. Why make this husband and father, who has fought for the United States, wait over a period of years before he can lay eyes on his loved ones? Is it fair, is it decent? If the wife and children of such a veteran are permitted to come ex quota, do you really think that the Immigration Law is injured? I do not. I think it will be helped by such a change for it will remove a cause of very genuine anguish and bitterness and will make that veteran a better citizen of the United States.

"There is one other class of people affected by my bill to which I want to call your attention. They may be described in this way. An alien came to this country as a part of the quota of his home country in 1922 or 1923. He left his wife and children behind him, intending to send for them after he became established here. He went to work here and, after a while, found that he could take care of his family.

He, also, took out his first papers as a citizen. But before he could obtain his second and final papers five years must elapse under the Naturalization Law. The Immigration Law upon the statute books when he came to this country permitted him to send for his wife and children later on and have them admitted. This situation, however, was completely changed by the taking effect of the present Immigration Law on July 1, 1924, and the alien who had come here to live permanently and taken out his first papers found that he could not send for his family and, indeed, could not hope to see them at all for three or four years. Mind you, this situation came about through no fault of his own. It was due entirely to a sudden change in the law. Here we have the husband and father living in this country, worried almost sick about his wife and children and sending his earnings to them in the old country. Are we treating that man humanely? Are we helping him to become a happy and contented American citizen? I am sure we are not. We are hurting him terribly. He is the helpless victim of this particular provision of the law. . . .

"My bill provides, in effect, that this alien who came here prior to July 1, 1924, and took out his first papers, and who has resided here permanently,

shall be permitted to send for his family. It seems to me that every consideration of justice and mercy should lead us to grant such relief to these unfortunate human beings."

The general policy of restricting immigration has been upheld by Wadsworth as based on sound principles and in the interest of the immigrants themselves. In an interview appearing in the *Rural Life and Farm Stock Journal* for March, 1926, he stated in answer to the question whether he believed in the present policy regarding immigration:

"I am a firm believer in this policy, principally because it is of such great benefit to the immigrants, and, of course, all the rest of us are vitally interested in it as American citizens, anxious for the future of the country.

"Prior to the World War immigrants were coming to our shores at the rate of 1,000,000 per year. No real effort was made to check or regulate this flow. They gathered by thousands in the congested parts of our cities and formed colonies there. They were willing to sell their labor cheap in order to succeed in the struggle for existence. When hard times came along they were thrown out of work. They became

disappointed and discontented with our nation and its institutions. . . .

"In 1916, I think, Congress passed the first act looking toward an improvement of this situation. The act provided that no adult immigrant should be admitted to the United States for permanent residence unless he could read and write in some language. I would like to emphasize the word 'some' when I speak of language. This law was somewhat experimental in character, along with the limitation enactment of 1921, and so the law of 1921 with its provisions expired in 1923 by limitation. The law of 1921 provided that the number of immigrants coming to this country should not exceed, annually, 3 per cent. of the number of nationals of that country residing here according to the census figures of 1910. We learned much during the period of 1921–1923 about the proper administration of an immigration law and the effect of an experimental statute.

"In 1924 Congress passed a permanent immigration act, and made several important changes in order that our immigration policy should rest upon a sound basis. This act provides that the annual quota of immigrants from each foreign country shall not exceed 2 per cent. of the number of nationals residing in the United States according to

the census of 1890. This change was made in order to cause the flow of immigration to correspond in its make-up as to national and racial origins as closely as possible to the make-up of the American people as a whole.

"You will see that the real purpose that the Congress had in mind was to avoid bringing about radical changes in the racial make-up of the American nation.

"Then Congress went further and inserted in this law a provision to the effect that commencing in 1927, immigration to the United States from the quota countries should not exceed 150,000 per year, and they should be divided, as among the several foreign countries in the same proportion as those countries were represented among the American people according to the census of 1920.

"I know that this policy is much fairer to the immigrant than was the lack of policy prior to the World War. To-day every immigrant is reasonably sure of a good job at decent wages. He finds what he is looking for. His children are well clothed, well fed, and well educated. They will grow up contented and loyal. In studying this most important problem of immigration, Congress has tried to look far toward the future and assure the happiness of

our children and the safety of our institutions for all time."

During his service in the Assembly in the State of New York, years ago, Wadsworth advocated the Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation Laws and had them favorably reported from the Committee on Rules of which he, as Speaker, was the chairman. He gave his support to a long line of bills which resulted in assuring protection to workers in hazardous employments and in maintaining safe and sanitary conditions in factories. Step by step, the Assembly, presided over by Speaker Wadsworth, broadened and strengthened the laws on child labor until the State of New York was well in the vanguard of the States in respect to these progressive measures.

Wadsworth's humanitarian interest in community welfare is illustrated by his stand on the subject of Sunday baseball, a stand that brings to mind the biblical principle that "the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." When he was Speaker of the Assembly, a bill was pending authorizing Sunday baseball without admission charges. The bill seemed doomed to defeat. Speaker Wadsworth left the rostrum and made a speech from the floor in which

he said that many rich people made it a habit to spend Sunday afternoons playing golf and tennis and motoring; that members of country clubs did this habitually, whereas the young people who live in the crowded districts of the cities had no such opportunity. He went on to say that he would rather see a boy playing in a game of baseball on Sunday afternoon, "trying to stretch a three-bagger into a home run," or, if not playing ball, sitting in the stand, rooting for his favorite team, than to have that same boy loitering on the sidewalks of the city "near the back door of some saloon."

The Senator is the author of a bill to establish in the District of Columbia a Board of Mothers' Assistance in aid of destitute mothers. In support of the proposed legislation he said in part:

"When we come to the consideration of the care of the child, experience has taught, I am convinced, that it is exceedingly difficult to give a child in an institution that education and care to which the child is entitled, although of course, there will always be some cases where nothing but institutional life can be resorted to. It is a theory, and with me a principle, that the best thing for the child, and its education, its character-building, its care generally,

is the home; and if we can so legislate, in the matter of the care of children, as to keep as many as possible of our unfortunate children in their homes, we will have done by far the best thing for them. . . ."

The legislation for mothers' aid passed at the last session of Congress was based in large measure upon the bill introduced by Senator Wadsworth and was drafted with great care with a view to making it, as the Senator urged,

"a model, so that the few remaining States that have not legislated on this topic, and those whose legislation still requires perfection, may look to the action of the Congress in legislating for the District, as something which they can follow with safety and advantage."

Upon three occasions Wadsworth introduced a bill extending retirement privileges to the women in the Army and Navy Nurse Corps. He contended that the nurses, who are under military discipline in peace and in war and share in large measure the hardships of the soldiers and sailors, should be accorded the same or similar retirement privileges. The bill finally passed both houses of Congress at the last session and was approved by the President.

Wadsworth's work in connection with revision of the pay of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps and Public Health Service, embodied in a bill, drawn in large measure by him, was effective in restoring the morale of those services and in saving them from the disintegration which was clearly impending. Discussing on May 22, 1922, his bill to revise the pay schedules of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, the Senator said in part:

"In the judgment of this committee the Army woman has reached the limit of sacrifice. In the great majority of cases, while she puts up a brave appearance and keeps a stiff upper lip, when she attends the simple functions which obtain at an Army post, or, correspondingly, the Navy woman, when she attends the simple functions at the navy yard or aboard the battleship when it drops into port, she has had to struggle to make both ends meet; and if I make any plea of a special character, I make it on behalf of the Army and Navy women. They cannot bear any heavier burdens than they are bearing to-day.

"I could call attention to some of the testimony given to the committee by officers and enlisted men of the service. I think it is well for the public to

know about these things, because there is so much misconception. I have before me the testimony of a young married officer stationed at one of the big camps, Camp Meade, which is within easy distance of Baltimore and Washington. His wife does all the housework. He has not been able to purchase a dress for her since he came into the service and married.

"All the clothing she has is clothing which she owned before she married. It is a touching little story of the devotion of a wife and the genius that many women have of making both ends meet. She has made over her gowns time and again in order to present a creditable appearance when she attends a reception at the commanding officer's house and meets the other ladies of the post.

"The officer himself, in two years' service at Camp Meade, has not been able to leave the camp to visit Washington or Baltimore except upon three occasions. He and his wife are just scraping along; they are cheerful, they are brave about it. There are hundreds of others in like position."

On January 30, 1920, when the Senate was considering the bill to revise the pay of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Public Health Service, Senator

King, Democrat, of Utah, said in the course of the debate:

". . . I do not always agree with the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs (Mr. Wadsworth), and yet it gives me pleasure to say that he is one of the ablest Senators in this body and brings to the consideration of the great questions that come before his Committee an intelligence and a patriotism that earn for him not only the gratitude of the Members of the Senate, but the gratitude of the American people."

A Civil Service Retirement bill was introduced by Senator Wadsworth in the Sixty-fourth Congress. The bill had the hearty support of the Committee of the Association of Civil Service Employees. In the Sixty-fifth Congress the Senator re-introduced the bill and the Senate Committee on Civil Service Reform used it as a basis for its deliberations. Finally a bill based on Senator Wadsworth's but known as the "McKellar Bill" was reported favorably to the Senate but was not acted upon. In the Sixty-sixth Congress, Senator Sterling of South Dakota introduced a bill very similar in its essentials to the Wadsworth bill. It received Wadsworth's hearty

CORRESPONDENCE

	Bills Introduced.	Bills Reported.	Committees Attended & Duration.	Roll Calls Ansd.	Departmental calls.	Visitors.	Phone Calls	Telegrams In	Telegrams Out	Personal. In	Personal. Out	Invitations. In	Invitations. Out
March 1	0	0	1-3 hrs.	2	1	37	91	6	5	11	6	3	2
" 2	1	0	1-2½ "	2	0	34	96	4	2	13	9	2	2
" 3	1	0	2-2 "	1	3	57	70	5	4	19	4	5	2
" 4	0	Bronx Board of Trade Dinner				33	57	2	2	21	0	0	2
" 5	0	2	2-3 "	2	0	16	98	4	1	15	5	0	4
" 6	0	0	1-1 hr.	1	0	34	66	1	1	7	1	2	2
" 8	1	0	0-0	8	3	41	48	23	1	4	4	1	2
" 9	1	1	1-2 hrs.	2	1	43	56	6	4	9	7	1	1
" 10	0	0	0-0	0	5	39	41	2	2	12	2	3	0
" 11	0	1	1-1 hr.	0	2	35	43	7	2	6	1	1	2
" 12	0	0	1-1½hrs.	4	0	41	134	6	5	16	5	0	3
" 13	0	1	0-0	1	0	53	78	3	2	5	2	0	0
" 15	0	0	0-0	1	1	30	97	9	4	26	4	0	0
" 16	0	0	0-0	1	2	75	129	9	2	9	5	1	1
" 17	2	0	0-0	2	0	47	114	4	2	12	8	4	0
" 18	0	0	2-5 "	1	0	34	95	4	1	20	6	1	4
" 19		In Buffalo today				33	107	2	0	11	4	0	0
" 20		" " "				36	83	7	2	15	0	2	0
" 22		In New York today				23	87	10	0	15	0	1	0
" 23	3	0	1-2 hrs.	1	0	36	91	8	4	0	2	1	0
" 24	0	0	0-0	1	0	33	113	7	1	15	3	3	0
" 25	0	0	0-0	1	1	40	71	11	1	16	10	0	0
" 26	3	1	0-0	0	0	23	96	7	5	14	9	2	3
" 27	4	0	0-0	1	0	31	72	1	4	14	8	0	4
" 29	0	0	0-0	1	1	32	86	9	4	10	6	3	0
" 30	4	0	1-2½ "	1	1	56	95	9	3	11	3	1	5
" 31	1	0	1-2 "	1	1	49	93	8	3	10	5	2	3
Totals	21	6	15-27½ hrs.	35	22	1041	2301	174	67	336	119	39	42

CORRESPONDENCE

	Govt. Positions In	Govt. Positions Out	Political. In	Political. Out	Military Matters. In	Military Matters. Out	West Point & Annap. In	West Point & Annap. Out	Departmental Matters. In	Departmental Matters. Out	Pensions & Veterans. In	Pensions & Veterans. Out	Immigration. In	Immigration. Out	Legislation In	Legislation Out	Miscellaneous Propaganda In	Miscellaneous Propaganda Out	Letters & transmtg documents. In	Letters & transmtg documents. Out
March 1	7	8	2	1	5	3	-	-	12	10	8	9	3	4	79	53	48	16	4	3
" 2	9	7	8	3	6	4	-	-	18	13	9	4	11	10	81	57	48	39	6	3
" 3	23	9	2	2	13	2	-	-	18	23	7	4	5	0	183	32	16	4	2	1
" 4	7	10	1	-	11	3	2	3	12	4	10	8	11	2	93	58	39	7	8	5
" 5	23	3	4	2	3	9	1	-	3	12	10	5	-	1	97	36	27	17	5	-
" 6	12	14	4	7	6	2	-	1	7	4	6	9	1	2	103	13	18	18	4	2
" 8	10	14	5	4	5	7	-	1	12	9	11	11	4	2	146	105	75	10	4	-
" 9	9	9	7	3	6	5	1	0	16	11	7	8	3	4	117	69	53	21	5	3
" 10	9	10	2	3	7	12	1	1	9	2	3	6	4	5	156	40	110	18	4	3
" 11	9	19	10	4	11	8	-	-	6	4	9	11	8	9	250	43	358	12	1	1
" 12	11	7	-	8	2	2	-	-	12	12	4	-	4	5	35	14	72	14	2	4
" 13	6	16	-	-	5	4	1	1	6	4	18	1	-	-	35	33	55	39	1	1
" 15	2	11	-	3	12	4	2	2	13	10	10	13	3	3	41	50	34	21	5	5
" 16	14	2	1	1	7	6	-	-	6	14	7	6	4	4	57	60	73	27	2	5
" 17	6	23	4	5	10	11	-	-	-	5	3	5	2	4	40	44	128	20	-	13
" 18	6	6	4	4	6	6	-	-	18	-	4	-	23	17	85	52	66	26	6	1
" 19	33	3	1	1	1	5	-	-	12	1	6	-	1	7	60	54	44	32	2	-
" 20	12	10	4	-	6	3	-	-	15	11	6	10	2	5	50	51	45	10	4	-
" 22	6	7	7	9	6	8	-	-	10	4	-	8	2	12	50	34	24	11	2	1
" 23	5	11	3	-	6	7	2	1	12	13	8	7	5	2	49	63	18	14	2	40
" 24	5	16	-	-	4	1	-	-	17	12	6	11	3	3	56	80	16	24	1	1
" 25	1	5	3	7	9	2	1	-	32	10	8	4	4	4	41	30	14	25	8	2
" 26	5	20	4	8	7	6	2	-	32	10	12	7	11	9	51	116	12	41	4	-
" 27	-	19	2	2	10	11	-	2	32	10	2	13	-	3	73	73	45	22	-	-
" 29	9	6	9	4	4	7	-	-	8	3	6	16	-	8	61	39	7	20	2	0
" 30	-	11	4	2	16	6	-	-	49	32	8	2	1	2	86	66	18	20	3	3
" 31	8	7	5	7	9	12	-	-	14	19	7	8	4	3	58	54	23	27	2	5
Totals	217	283	96	90	193	158	13	12	400	282	195	158	119	130	2213	1419	1487	555	89	102

Total number of incoming letters of all kinds 5,571
" " " outgoing " " " " 3,423
" " " documents received in March 328
" " " " sent out " " 910
Total number of bills introduced for relief of or interest of individuals or business concerns during 1st Session, 69th Congress 65

Average number of letters received each day 206
" " " " sent out " " 127

WITH WADSWORTH AT WASHINGTON

A MONTH'S WORK TABULATED

support and was enacted into law. During the last session, he urged the passage of a bill liberalizing the provisions of the Civil Service Retirement Law.

Having made a personal investigation of the living costs and household budgets of postal employees and being convinced that these faithful government servants were underpaid, the Senator gave his support to the bill for an increase in postal salaries.

Wadsworth has always been opposed to child labor and in fact voted for the Federal Child Labor Law which the Supreme Court later declared unconstitutional. He has been in opposition, however, to the proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution, regarding the amendment as substituting for a waning local evil a permanent menace of Federal intrusion in the domain of matters properly reserved to the States. In the first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress, discussing the extension of Federal power, Wadsworth said of the child labor amendment:

"My own opinion is that, viewed in its broadest sense, this proposed amendment to the Constitution carries with it more importance and more significance than any amendment recently proposed.

Indeed, I think it goes further in extending the powers of the Federal Government than the eighteenth amendment. I think its effect, if it becomes a part of the basic law, will be more profound and more far-reaching upon the people themselves than any recent amendment. . . .

"Before discussing the amendment upon its merits, I beg leave to call the attention of the Senate to the tendency which has been so evident in the last 20 years with respect to increasing the powers of the Federal Government. We can all remember Theodore Roosevelt, a most active, energetic, tireless and successful Chief Executive, who made or who contributed largely to the making of Federal Government an energetic agency. I think it is fair to say that he instilled life and energy in the structure of the Federal Government by the force of his personality. At that time those who did not agree with him in every particular wondered if the power of the Federal Government was not being exercised to too great an extent, whether it was not growing too fast. Be that as it may, it is interesting to note what has happened since Theodore Roosevelt ceased being President of the United States on March 4, 1909. Sitting at my desk yesterday afternoon I scribbled down notes descriptive of some of the

increases of power acquired by the Federal Government in one way or another. I did it entirely from memory, and I make no boast that the list is complete. At least it is interesting to every person who has a concern for the future of the Federal Union of States."

After referring in detail to the creation of numerous commissions, boards and bureaus, Wadsworth continued:

"I do not criticize the establishment of all these boards and commissions with their innumerable employees and inspectors and agents who travel all over the United States clothed with the power of the Federal Government to investigate the daily life of the citizen and ultimately in many cases to regulate and actually govern him, sometimes merely by the stroke of the pen in an office here in Washington. Most of these things probably were necessary. I think I could pick out some that have not added to the happiness, contentment, or prosperity of the American people. Some, in my judgment, have added nothing but taxes. But such as they are, in the aggregate they show a very, very large extension of the Federal powers in the last 15

years, an extension which, if viewed thoughtfully, must give pause to the citizen when he is called upon to give his consent to a still further and much greater expansion of Federal power, and to lead that citizen to ask himself a very serious question. That question is this: Can this Government of ours remain long as a Federal Union of States if this tendency goes unchecked? Will it not result in establishing here at Washington an imperial government whose territory will be divided into what might be termed provinces instead of what we have known as sovereign States?

"We are whittling at the structure established by the fathers. . . .

"I contend that these observations have point in connection with the amendment to the Constitution which we are now attempting to consider. Let me read the first section of the amendment:

> 'Sec. 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age.'

"That proposes an immense delegation of power over every human being in the United States under 18 years of age. If the amendment shall be finally

ratified, Congress will gather within its jurisdiction the working life and the school life of every American under that prescribed age. Its effects upon the lives of those persons will be profound. I imagine persons under 18 years of age must constitute one-third of the entire population. . . .

"We have traveled pretty far from the first child labor law in this proposed amendment. The aim sought now is labor domination over everyone under 18 years of age, to spread the Federal power over all children who work regularly or occasionally, paid or unpaid, at domestic service, on the farm, in the home, on the city streets, in the neighborhood industries, mines, or manufacturing establishments. In fact, this proposed amendment is intended to turn the child's entire labor life—and I add, educational life—over to the control of the Federal Government."

In a speech made on Lincoln Day, 1925, the Senator said:

"I know the assertion has been made on a good many occasions that we can go ahead and grant additional vast powers to the Federal Government in Washington on the theory that the Congress of

the future will not abuse those powers. I have served in the Congress for ten years and I warn you never to be surprised at what the Congress may do. And it is a wise practice and principle to decline to delegate power which you do not want used. . . . This gradual tendency toward concentrating power at Washington is slowly stifling that sense of responsibility in the people and in the communities which they should have. Without that sense of responsibility, that willingness to undertake tasks which they can perform for themselves, self-government will break down in America."

It is of interest in this connection to note the remarks of President Coolidge at the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 15, 1926, in part as follows:

"If the Federal Government should go out of existence, the common run of people would not detect the difference in the affairs of their daily life for a considerable length of time. But if the authority of the States were struck down, disorder approaching chaos would be upon us within 24 hours. No method of procedure has ever been devised by which liberty could be divorced from local self-government.

No plan of centralization has ever been adopted which did not result in bureaucracy, tyranny, inflexibility, reaction and decline. Of all forms of government, those administered by bureaus are about the least satisfactory to an enlightened and progressive people. Being irresponsible they become autocratic, and being autocratic they resist all development. Unless bureaucracy is constantly resisted it breaks down representative government and overwhelms democracy. It is the one element in our institutions that sets up the pretense of having authority over everybody and being responsible to nobody."

In an article entitled "Let's Stop this 'Fifty-Fifty' Business," published in the *Nation's Business* for March, 1926, Senator Wadsworth said:

"If we continue to take power away from the people and to transfer it to Washington we shall destroy those qualities [the capacity for self-government], our local governments will dwindle to the vanishing point and we shall find the average man becoming a servant of the Government instead of its master. Let us remember that our country is a federal union of States, not an empire. Realizing as we must the dangers of a bureaucracy, irresponsible

and remote from our view, let us pause and survey our situation before we yield to its inducements."

The Senator has steadfastly protested against a further extension of Federal power at the expense of the States. Particularly has he opposed the effort to give the Federal Government, through Federal aid conditioned on compliance with the rulings of a bureau, control over education within the several States. On Lincoln Day, 1926, he said on this subject:

". . . I am well aware that many educators believe the Federal government should embark upon such a program. I realize that they are concerned at the extent of illiteracy in some few sections of the republic. I am also aware of the belief, or hope, entertained by a not inconsiderable number of teachers in our schools that, as a result of appropriations from the Federal treasury, their salaries will be increased. But, before these good people or any group of citizens give their adherence to this proposal, they would better estimate what it means. If the Federal Government contributes substantial financial support to the schools in the several States it will, of necessity, promulgate rules and regulations

under which that Federal money shall be spent. It must prescribe the kind of education that may be helped by Federal money; it must set up the standard of the curriculum to be met by the school before it receives the money; it must send its inspectors traveling about the country to see that these federally imposed standards are maintained. It requires no stretch of the imagination to visualize the tremendous power which such a system would ultimately lodge in the Federal Government. Indeed, it would in the end, achieve supremacy in the field of popular education.

"Are our communities so backward and so incompetent as to require not only the assistance, but the supervision of the Federal Government in educating their children? Are we ready to admit that the people of the several States are unable or unwilling to manage these vital matters for themselves? Have we reached the conclusion that the citizen of to-morrow will be a better citizen if he is educated in accordance with standards imposed by an imperial government? If we make these admissions and if we have reached this conclusion, then, indeed we must be ready to abandon most of our ideals as to what is good in the building up of an enterprising, self-reliant, liberty-loving, citizenship."

Wadsworth has been consistently opposed to movements tending to set one part of our people against another upon religious or other grounds. In response to a letter from Dr. Maryoshes, editor of *The Day*, a Jewish daily newspaper, Senator Wadsworth wrote under date of May 24, 1926:

"It would scarcely be necessary for me to say that the 'good will movement' to which you refer has my very deep and hearty sympathy. If there is anything I hate, it is suspicion and intolerance manifesting itself between groups of our people, and I am convinced that the welfare of all of us and indeed the safety of our country depend on what you well express as 'mutual understanding, friendly accord and earnest cooperation for the common good' on the part of all elements of our population.

"The men and women who are active in public affairs, and particularly those who have been honored by their fellow-citizens with public office, have a real duty to perform in this respect, and that is to point out at every available opportunity the importance of cultivating the spirit you mention and the grave character of the evil inherent in the opposite point of view."

CHAPTER XII

It is an infirmity of human nature to be more regardful of the end than of the means and this is more particularly true of the advocates of reforms. They are frequently too impatient of delay to see anything but their own objective. If persuasion works but slowly, they desire to impose their reforms by force upon the centers of opposition. They are ever willing to remedy a local condition by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. It is significant that about 100 proposals for amendments to the Constitution of the United States are now pending before Congress. This shows too general a willingness to treat lightly the landmarks of the fathers and to subordinate the general framework of the Government to the effectuation of special purposes.

As Senator Wadsworth said on February 12, 1923, at the Lincoln dinner of the National Republican Club:

"Since the ratification by the states of the original Constitution, nineteen amendments have been added to it. The first ten amendments are generally regarded as a part of the original conception. Collectively, they are known as the Bill of Rights. Their principles were taken for granted by most of the delegates in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. They were added to the original instrument to make assurance doubly sure, to satisfy the people that there was no mistake about their being included. So, to that extent, we may disregard them as real amendments. We, therefore, have had nine real amendments. The last four, the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth, have been adopted since the year 1913 a period of approximately nine years. In the adoption of these four, as well as of all the amendments preceding them, but one of the methods provided in Article 5 (the amendatory article) has been used, namely, submission by Congress to the legislatures of the several states and ratification by those legislatures. In none of the amendments thus far adopted has the Congress resorted to the alternative provided in the amendatory article, namely, the submission of the amendment to conventions to be called in each of the states for the purpose of considering the matter. . . .

"We all know that amendments to the Constitution of the State of New York are voted upon in popular referendum. The fact is that the people in every state in the Union, with the possible exception of one, adopt amendments to their state constitution by popular vote. This is common knowledge. The procedure is taken for granted and is founded on the fundamental theory that the people and the people alone may set up government and prescribe its power; and that the people and the people alone may change the form and powers of their government. That all power in setting up government springs from the people who are to live under it, is a principle so thoroughly established in the states that there is no use arguing about it."

Under the system which Congress has adopted of submitting constitutional amendments to the State Legislatures, the people are ignored and this even under circumstances which indicate that their views are in conflict with those of their representatives in the legislature. Thus, in Ohio, the State Constitution provided that upon the petition of a certain number of qualified electors an act of the legislature must be submitted to popular vote and resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution of the

United States were included in so many words. When the Eighteenth, or Prohibition Amendment was ratified by the legislature, it was rejected by a popular referendum held pursuant to the provisions of the State Constitution. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court of the United States, reversing the highest court of Ohio, held that the State Constitution could add nothing to the conditions which the Constitution of the United States fixed for the ratification of an amendment thereto and so interpreted the term "the legislature" as used in Article V of the Constitution of the United States, that the people of the State were deemed to be no part of the legislature even when the State Constitution made a popular vote part of the law-making machinery.

Curious instances of legislative disregard of the popular will occurred in connection with the Nineteenth or Woman Suffrage Amendment. As Senator Wadsworth noted in his speech above mentioned:

"Thirty-eight legislatures ratified the 19th Amendment. In thirteen of those states the people had, but a short time before, voted down state suffrage amendments. In five of the thirty-eight states the state constitution was so framed as to forbid the

legislatures in being at the time to ratify the amendment. In all five states the legislatures ignored the state constitution and ratified the Federal amendment in violation of it and of their oaths of office. Of the thirty-eight legislatures which ratified it, thirty-four were what might be termed 'hold over' legislatures; that is, they had been elected prior to the submission of the 19th Amendment. As that amendment was not an issue in the election of those thirty-four legislatures, the people had no opportunity to select their legislature with this issue in mind. Of the legislatures which ratified, thirty did so in special sessions called by the Governors. All thirty of the special session legislatures were 'hold-over' legislatures.

"Now let us see what happened in Tennessee. The constitution of that state specifically prohibits the legislature from ratifying a Federal amendment unless that legislature has been elected subsequent to the submission of the amendment. Its constitution also provides that a quorum shall consist of two-thirds of the members of the House. The Governor of Tennessee called the legislature, which had been elected before the Nineteenth Amendment had been submitted, in special session. A dramatic contest took place in the lower House. The oppon-

ents of ratification cited the Tennessee Constitution as prohibiting the legislature from acting. Supporters of the amendment, having a small majority, threw the constitution and their oaths of office to the winds and determined to go ahead. Thereupon resort was had by those who were faithful to their oaths to an unusual procedure. They left the Capitol in sufficient numbers to break the constitutional quorum and proceeded across the Tennessee line into Alabama. There were ninety-nine members of the House. Sixty-six members constitute a quorum under the state constitution. A sufficient number of members left the state to reduce those remaining to fifty-nine. Those who broke the quorum did so in the hope that, through delay, the people of the state might exert their influence upon the members of the legislature. But the fifty-nine who were left and who did not constitute a quorum proceeded to ratify just the same by a vote of fifty to nine. The Governor of Tennessee certified to the ratification by the legislature and sent the certificate to the Secretary of State at Washington. That official promptly proclaimed Tennessee's ratification and, as Tennessee was the thirty-sixth state, the Nineteenth Amendment was deemed to have been ratified by the necessary three-fourths of the states.

The whole thing happened in a few days. The national leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties, eager for the votes of women in the presidential election, were parties to this outrage. They pleaded and begged and urged that Tennessee act. The people of Tennessee were ignored and its constitution violated. The politicians did not

"Immediately there followed another extraordinary incident. The Tennessee legislators went home to their people and spent a few days with them before again gathering in the State Capitol. When they re-convened, they promptly rescinded the resolution of ratification, undid everything they had done a week or ten days before and made the Governor send a certificate to that effect to Washington. But it was too late! There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States which permits a state to rescind its ratification of a Federal amendment. One might recite other incidents almost as interesting as this, each of them indicating action by state legislatures in direct violation of the popular will as expressed at the polls. The people of California in a state-wide referendum rejected state prohibition. The legislature of the state, shortly thereafter, ratified national prohibition. The people of Texas in a state-

wide referendum rejected state suffrage. The legislature, within a month, ratified national suffrage. The people of Massachusetts, on every occasion when there had been anything like a test, had rejected prohibition. The legislature, at the behest of the Republican State Committee, ratified the Eighteenth Amendment. The people of Ohio voted three times in succession in popular referenda and in each of them rejected state suffrage. The legislature of Ohio promptly ratified national suffrage. The people of Maryland voted, by a heavy majority, against prohibition. The legislature promptly ratified the Federal Prohibition Amendment. In New York a party caucus in the State Senate changed two votes and assured ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. Where do the people come in? In dozens of cases they were not allowed to be heard. Their own constitutions were violated, their legislatures broke their oaths of office, and, to cap the whole situation, the law of the land, as construed by the Supreme Court, provides that the people of a state shall not have any control over their legislature in the matter of changes in the fundamental law of the nation."

Wadsworth concluded:

"The modern propagandist has just commenced to work. He is tireless, always; he has an organization; that organization is very often generously supplied with funds; it has facilities for wide-spread publicity; oftentimes its leadership is adroit and skillful politically. The pressure of organized propaganda upon legislative bodies is terrific, well-nigh compelling. I can say that advisedly because I have seen and experienced it during fourteen years of legislative service. Sometimes the result is good. Sometimes it is very bad. There are all kinds, good, bad, and indifferent. But in no case is that method of legislative control healthy or safe. We may not be able to do away with its influence in connection with our ordinary law making. Indeed, we need not fear it very greatly in that connection, because a bad law can be changed into a good law by simple legislative enactment or it can be repealed altogether, but if, in the future, organized propaganda succeeds in amending the Constitution, that amendment, though it be wretchedly bad, is intrenched there. To perfect it, to change it or repeal it, will require under the present practice the affirmative action of two-thirds of each House of the Congress and of 36 legislatures. Thirteen legislatures can prevent the change and hold the

bad amendment in its place forever. Granting that the people themselves, in the several states, are entitled to pass upon future amendments (and I contend they are so entitled), I firmly believe that the propagandist will find his greatest difficulty in following the voter into the booth and guiding his pencil as he marks his secret ballot. . . ."

Seeking to obviate such untoward incidents in the adoption of constitutional amendments, believing that the people of the several States have an inherent right to pass upon proposed amendments and fearful that highly organized and well-financed minorities may exert undue influence upon State legislatures, Wadsworth has proposed that the Federal Constitution be so amended that the people of each State shall have the right to approve or disapprove by popular vote the ratification by the legislature of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The Senator has viewed the successive amendments to the Constitution of the United States with considerable circumspection. He has not been quite alone in this. When the Sixteenth, the Income Tax, Amendment was submitted in the administration of President Taft, Charles E. Hughes as Governor of

New York State opposed the amendment on account of its form. Inasmuch as the Sixteenth Amendment permits Congress to impose a tax on incomes "from whatever source derived," without apportionment among the States in accordance with population, Governor Hughes argued that Congress might thus tax the income derived from State or municipal bonds. Mr. Wadsworth, then Speaker of the Assembly, believed that Governor Hughes was right and for that reason alone opposed the ratification of the income tax amendment. Mr. Elihu Root in opposition to Governor Hughes, contended that the phrase "from whatever source derived" was not inclusive of the States and their governmental instrumentalities. The adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment was proclaimed on February 25, 1913, and in the upshot, Congress has not sought to impose a Federal tax upon income from State and municipal securities. The Supreme Court has since taken the view that the Sixteenth Amendment does not extend the taxing power to new or excepted subjects, but merely removes any occasion which might otherwise exist for an apportionment, among the States, of taxes laid on income whether it be derived from one source or another.

The Seventeenth Amendment providing for the

popular election of Senators was proposed by the Sixty-second Congress on May 15, 1912, and its ratification was proclaimed on May 31, 1913. It was, of course, a departure from the original plan of the Constitution and for that reason it was opposed by those who felt that the Constitution should not be too much tampered with even by its friends. The Senate can never be directly representative of the people, as the House of Representatives is, inasmuch as each State has two Senators regardless of its population. The Senate represents one of the great compromises of the Constitution. In the framing of the Constitution the more populous States desired representation in Congress to be based on population, but the small States desired equality between States. Accordingly, the House of Representatives was organized on one principle and the Senate upon another. Originally it was felt that the House of Representatives would be more immediately responsive to waves of public emotion and that the Senate would be less subject to public pressure as its members were elected by the State legislatures and for a longer term and were not all elected at the same time. It is said that Thomas Jefferson once asked George Washington, when they were at tea, what was the use of having two houses of Con-

gress. Jefferson at the time was pouring his tea from one cup to another. "That is why," replied Washington. "Legislation is poured from one chamber into another to cool it."

The Eighteenth, or Prohibition, Amendment, was proposed by the Sixty-fifth Congress on December 3, 1917, and its ratification was proclaimed on January 29, 1919. The Nineteenth, or Woman Suffrage, Amendment was proposed by the Sixty-sixth Congress on May 19, 1919, and its ratification was proclaimed on August 26, 1920. Many of the States had adopted State-wide prohibition before the Eighteenth Amendment and some of them had woman suffrage before the Nineteenth Amendment. The object and the result was in each instance to coerce the States which were "backward about coming forward." The Republican Party at its National Convention in 1916 declared in favor of permitting the people of the several States to pass upon the suffrage question for themselves and Senator Wadsworth therefore felt that he could not support an amendment which deprived the several States of any discretion in the matter. At the time, New York State had woman suffrage, but had it by its own vote, not by the votes of the other States. Some States, such as Maine, Massachusetts, Penn-

sylvania, Ohio and West Virginia had by popular vote disapproved woman suffrage. Indeed, the State of Ohio had rejected it three times in popular referenda. As Senator Wadsworth stated not long after the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment:

"I have never voted and would not vote to take away the rights thus acquired by the women of New York; neither did I believe it right for me to vote to force suffrage on those States whose people had declared by their votes that they did not want suffrage. In short, I believe in the right of the people of the several States to rule as guaranteed in their Constitutions. It has been charged that I have attempted to prevent ratification in other States. This is not true."

Wadsworth opposed the resolution by which Congress submitted the Eighteenth, or Prohibition, Amendment to the States. He has expressed himself consistently with that stand ever since. Consequently it is fitting that he should be a supporter of the effort to modify the Eighteenth Amendment. Once the amendment was ratified and pending any modification of it, it became the duty of Congress to enforce the amendment by legislation to prevent and punish, as the amendment prohibits,

"the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes."

The National Prohibition Act of October 28, 1919, —commonly known as the Volstead Act—was such enforcement legislation. It was vetoed by President Wilson, but was passed over his veto on the ground—which Senator Wadsworth felt was correct —that to sustain the veto would have been completely to nullify the prohibition amendment. In June, 1919, in the course of a debate in Congress, Senator Wadsworth reaffirmed his position:

"I voted against the prohibition amendment to the Constitution, because I believed that such a proposal had no place in the Constitution, and second, because I believed that the people in great and important communities of this country were competent to decide that matter for themselves; and I feared the very thing that is making itself so apparent to-day—a settled determination upon the part of hundreds of thousands of people living in those communities which were not consulted, to evade it,

to urge some act of Congress or State legislature under that peculiar provision for concurrent jurisdiction, which would make a laughing stock of that particular amendment to the Constitution. The danger is, if we go on in this way and deprive the people of important communities of their right to decide these questions which they are competent to decide, which in dozens of instances they have decided to their own satisfaction, a contempt for the Constitution of the United States will gradually and inevitably spread over this country. It will be regarded by hundreds of thousands of people as merely a vehicle for the exercise of a will-to-power upon the part of some group of people who desire to impose their ideas upon another group of people."

At a public dinner given in his honor at New York City on February 20, 1920, he said:

"By a two-thirds vote in both houses, the Congress passed and submitted to the legislatures of the states an amendment to the Federal Constitution, providing that the manufacture, importation, transportation and sale of intoxicating liquors shall be prohibited in the United States and its territorial possessions. More than the necessary three-fourths

of the legislatures ratified the amendment and it is now a part of the Constitution of the United States. I voted against the amendment in the Senate for three principal reasons:

"First, because the Constitution is a framework of government which defines and limits the powers delegated to that government by the people. It ought not to be confused and encumbered with matters which should be dealt with in statute law in such a way that the changing opinion of the people may be registered. Furthermore, I dreaded this precedent which, if followed, would transform completely the relation of the states to the central government, and, indeed, the fact of the Federal union of states. Secondly, and from the standpoint of practical legislation, I feared the inelasticity of such a decree in that were it to result in failure, acknowledged even by a majority of the people, that majority would be powerless to repeal or modify the decree in the face of the opposition of one-fourth plus one of the States —the very negation of democracy. And, thirdly, because upon a matter affecting so intimately the personal habits and predilections of millions of good people, I believe the people themselves should have an opportunity to pass judgment. These objections would have been largely overcome had the

Eighteenth Amendment provided that Congress shall be clothed with power to prohibit or regulate the liquor traffic from time to time by statute.

"The ratification of the amendment was accomplished during the period of our participation in the war. Its zealous, well-organized and politically skillful advocates knew well what they had in mind, but large numbers of people were not so clear about it and were inclined to confuse it with the war measures. Still others, somewhat unfamiliar with the processes of amending the Constitution and mindful only of the admitted evils of the saloon, gave it their support. And then, too, it may be remarked, the amendment was adopted during the absence in the training camps or in France, of nearly 5,000,000 men, who were thus deprived very largely of all influence in the matter."

Again, in a public statement on September 7, 1920, Senator Wadsworth reiterated and emphasized these same views. Once again, in 1922, he expounded the theory of the proper scope of the Constitution before the American Legion Convention at Saratoga.

In a letter dated June 4, 1926, in reply to a request that he state his position on the prohibition question, Senator Wadsworth wrote:

"I am very glad, indeed, to state to you my position on the prohibition question.

"I voted against the Eighteenth Amendment when it was before the Senate because I believed then, as I believe now, that to insert what amounts to a sumptuary law in the Constitution of the United States is a most serious error. I felt then, and I am convinced now, that not only does such an amendment violate the principles of sound constitutional law-making, but that it leads to bitter dissension and wide-spread disregard for the Constitution itself. In effect, the Eighteenth Amendment represents an attempt to compel 100,000,000 people to become and remain total abstainers. I contend that all human experience teaches us that total abstinence through legal compulsion is impossible of attainment. Furthermore, it was far from the intent of the framers of the Constitution to give the Congress the right to regulate the private and personal habits of the citizen. In this respect the Eighteenth Amendment changes the theory of our Federal Government and contravenes the spirit of our institutions. At the present time large numbers of people are offering stout resistance to total abstinence by Federal compulsion. The feeling of resentment, instead of receding, is growing as people come to

realize the significance of the attempt. They are coming to understand that the question at issue is absolutely fundamental.

"It is a great pity that the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified. It would have been infinitely better had we, recognizing the liquor traffic and the saloon as a national problem, adopted a simple constitutional amendment conferring power upon the Congress to legislate freely upon the liquor traffic. Had that been done, the Congress could have legislated from time to time, estimated the results and, finally, would have reached a solution acceptable to an overwhelming majority of the people. The Eighteenth Amendment, however, ties the hands of the Congress and the people themselves to a very great extent and deprives them of an opportunity to solve this problem by statutory enactments justified by experience and public opinion. So much for what I regard as the evils of the Eighteenth Amendment.

"As for the Volstead Act, I have been convinced for a long time that its provisions, in some respects, are extreme and should be modified. Furthermore, I believe they can be modified without violating the Eighteenth Amendment itself.

"Certainly no one can contend that a beverage

containing but five-eighths of one per cent of alcohol is intoxicating. And yet such is the law. I see no reason why the percentage should not be increased so as to permit the manufacture and sale of those milder beverages which are not, in fact, intoxicating. Should the Congress or the State Legislatures be rash enough to increase the percentage to the intoxicating point, the courts may be trusted to stand at the gateway defending the Constitution.

"I shall be perfectly frank, however, and say that, while I advocate modification, I do not believe the modification of the Volstead Act within constitutional limits will solve the problem permanently. I think we must go back to the Eighteenth Amendment itself and substitute for it a simple grant of power to the Congress. That done, I should hope that the Congress and the States (through the authority of the Congress) could establish in this country, in accordance with local sentiment and desires, some such system as prevails in the province of Quebec. The principles of the Quebec plan I believe are sound. The plan, as a result of the Government taking over the sale exclusively of all alcoholic beverages and forbidding the consumption of those beverages upon the premises where sold, does away with the saloon and the private liquor traffic. Furthermore,

the plan does not permit the establishment of a Government liquor store in any community which has voted that it does not want such a store. Thus the people themselves decide what they want and they attain it under strict Government regulation and in a way quite free from the evil conditions so prevalent in the old days. I believe that some such system as this (and there may be improvements upon it) will achieve more for the cause of temperance than the scheme we have been trying for the last six or seven years. Surely every observant and fair-minded person must realize that as a result of the attempt of the Federal Government to force total abstinence upon all our people, the country is today deluged with hypocrisy and corruption—a condition that must be cured. And as we strive to solve the problem, let us remember that what we all really want is temperance."

At a dinner given by the Republican Business Men, Inc. and the New York Young Republican Club on the 4th of August, 1926, Senator Wadsworth expressed himself more fully as follows:

"It seems to me that the prohibition problem can be discussed without the use of opprobrious epi-

thets. We gain nothing by indulging in aspersions of motives and character. From every standpoint it is better to discuss the principles involved rather than persons. At any rate, I shall follow such a plan.

"Nearly everybody in the land is reading and talking about prohibition. We can't escape the question unless we eschew all newspapers and live the lives of hermits. No matter what our views may be, we must admit that the question is more alive than ever before and presses insistently for an answer. Honest men differ about it and all sensible men know that something must be done. We simply can't go on as we are going now, so it is high time that we accorded to every man the right to entertain a conviction on the subject and to speak out in all sincerity. The time and the issue will not tolerate pussyfooting.

"Let us get back to a consideration of a few simple fundamentals. Let us take a look at the Constitution. What did the original instrument do? It set up a frame-work of government and delegated to that government certain carefully enumerated powers. The authors, well aware of the danger involved in conferring all power upon a central government far removed from the control of the people,

fashioned a Federal Union of States, giving to the Federal Government sufficient power to enable it to perform genuinely national functions and retaining in the States the power to perform local functions including the police power. They regarded this division as essential to the preservation of self-government.

"The people of that day never dreamed that their descendants would submit, for example, to any Federal control of the personal habits of the individual. Such a suggestion would have been utterly abhorrent to them. And such was the feeling of practically all Americans until, only a few days ago, swept along by emotions incident to a great foreign war and impatient with an admitted social evil, they forgot the Federal Union idea and permitted their representatives to vote away their right to self-government to an extent which now astounds and dismays. So much for this phase of the original conception evidencing, as it does, a deep concern lest the people become the subjects of an imperial government.

"There is more to be noted in this Constitution of ours. Let us take another look. We encounter the first ten amendments. How did they get there? History tells us that the Americans of 1787 and 1788

were suspicious of governments in general; that they feared lest, in the absence of special guaranties of protection, the government that they were about to set up, or to put it another way, a majority of it, would deprive the individual of those rights the enjoyment of which was deemed essential to liberty. So before they ratified the new Constitution they made their leaders in the several states promise that in the very first Congress a series of amendments would be submitted, in order that there could be no mistake about the right of the individual to be free from oppression. And so the first ten amendments, known collectively as the "Bill of Rights" became a part of our written Constitution—the first instance of the kind in history.

"Now note, if you please, a most significant and important thing: The Constitution, thus completed to the satisfaction of the people, contains many provisions which, directly or by implication, confine the Government within certain limits and indeed, deny to it the doing of certain things to the citizen. Freedom of religion, of speech, of the press and the right to petition for the redress of grievances; the right to keep and bear arms, the right to trial by jury, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures and from cruel and unusual punishments, and fin-

ally a definite reservation in the States and the people of the powers not delegated. In all this list we find them in effect saying to the Government: 'Thou shalt not.' That is what the people decided to put into their political covenant. And, with the exception of the brief and somewhat cautious reference to the crime of treason, you will find no 'Thou shalt not' applied to the individual. That is the kind of thing the people insisted should be omitted from the fundamental law. They knew it had no place there; that, if it belonged anywhere, it belonged in statute law and preferably the statute law of the States where they could control it promptly.

"Since the ratification of the Bill of Rights we have added nine amendments. Eight of them deal either with the broad powers of government, the further conserving of individual rights and privileges or the method of electing certain officers—all subjects appropriate for consideration in a constitution. None of the eight amendments runs counter to the vitally important original conception. It remained for one of the nine, the Eighteenth Amendment, to mar the symmetry of the structure, to introduce a novelty subversive of fundamental principles and threaten the stability of our Federal Union of States.

"Ever since that day in January of 1920, when we actually embarked upon the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment it has proved itself to be a breeder of confusion, demoralization and bitterness. You know the condition confronting us to-day just as well as I do. We encounter it in every part of this vast country. Suffice it to say that our whole political system aches with it much as the human system is affected by an abscess in the root of a tooth. There it is. Some say we shall have to endure it indefinitely. I hope, and indeed I believe, that is not true. But whether we endure it for a long time or a short time, so long as it is with us we shall suffer, for it violates the law of our being. And so the problem is really fundamental, for it involves the integrity of the Constitution. And the maintenance of that instrument, respected by all and enduring through the ages, is infinitely more important to us and our descendants than any consideration which we may encounter in our efforts to achieve temperance.

"Turning from the constitutional or fundamental to the practical side of the prohibition problem, let us estimate some factors which are always present when we attempt the enforcement of a sumptuary law.

"We may use the expression 'sumptuary law' in this connection because it is plain that the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act together constitute an attempt to enforce total abstinence among all our people.

"Let it never be forgotten that governing is not a science. Rigid formulas applied to political undertakings invariably fail, for they cannot in the nature of things include an accurate expression of the relative influence of human reactions infinite in their variety. Men will not long obey a 'rule of thumb.' Its very inelasticity spells failure. Rather, governing is an art—an art involving knowledge of many elements and the skillful use of that knowledge in achieving the best possible results.

"Consider the things which must be taken into account when we seek to legislate effectively on a matter closely related to the daily life of multitudes of people; origins, traditions, customs, habits, environments, ambitions, material things—all these and many more must be estimated. In the aggregate they form the foundation of what we call the public conscience. If we omit from our calculations any important combination of these factors we fail to reach the public conscience and our law is greeted with resistance and derision. No matter how high

its purpose, if it doesn't appeal to the conscience of the average man, it accomplishes nothing and eventually becomes a dead letter. In some instances our ill-advised efforts bring on evils far worse than those we seek to cure. Then our law is distinctly a bad law and we would better revise it. . . .

"The Government is doing its best to prevent people getting a drink, and a large section of the public is doing its best to get one. Most of those who are not trying thus to outwit the Government are merely indifferent about the drink; they are equally indifferent about the law, at least the members of this large group never report to the authorities the violation committed by a friend. Two groups are genuinely interested in the law—those good persons who honestly believe that total abstinence should be forced on the people and—the bootlegger who grows rich and pays no taxes.

"What is the trouble? The trouble is, as I view it, we have ignored origins, traditions, customs, habits and environments. This sumptuary law does not appeal to the public conscience. The average man simply cannot regard taking a drink as a wrongful act. Instinctively he resists such a 'rule of thumb.' In this way he is teaching his rulers that governing is an art—not a science.

"After all is said and done, what do we really want? We want temperance. We cannot achieve it with intemperate measures—that is certain. And we don't want the old time saloon. We have not gained anything, however, by substituting the bootlegger and the speakeasy for the saloon. The price we are paying in the way of hypocrisy fast becoming the national habit, is fearful.

"Surely there must be some way that we can get what we want—temperance. People in other countries are doing it, or coming mighty near it. We can get it, I am sure, even though we may have to go through a process of evolution. Skillful control supported by the public—a control adjusted and readjusted to meet the real sentiment of the people, is, in my judgment, our best instrument. And I believe about this liquor question as I do about other matters related to personal habits and morals —I believe the church and the home and the school can accomplish more than the policeman.

"That standard of morals is highest and most enduring that, inspired by the teachings of the church and the home and the school, becomes the expression of the conscience of the self-governed man."

The life so briefly sketched is now reaching its meridian. We have not the eye of prophecy to look into the future. What is to come will be the superstructure on foundations well laid in the past. The writer is content if he has made the reader feel that Wadsworth is a living personality.

"Who is the happy warrior? Who is he
That every man in arms would wish to be?
It is the generous spirit, who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought;
Whose high endeavors are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright."

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